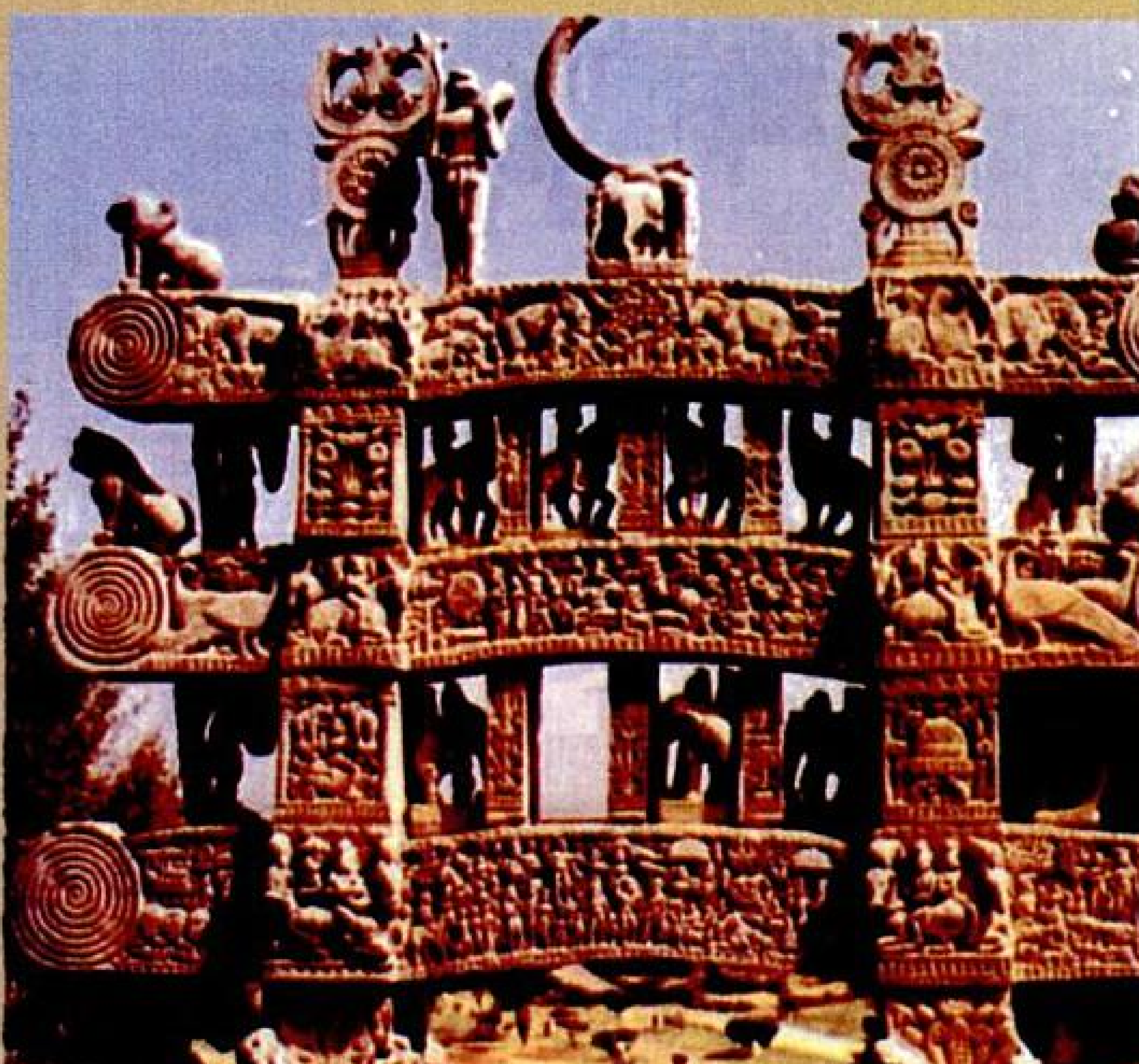
STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY

Madhya Pradesh Through the Ages

STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY



VOLUME 1

Editors

S.R. BAKSHI • O.P. RALHAN

This encyclopaedic study has been weaved into four volumes covering various aspects of the region through its ages. The highlights of the theme are socio-economic, cultural and political developments through the ages. Undoubtedly all these volumes have been dealt with in a comprehensive way. Indeed all the events are well-knit and give useful details on the subject.

Volumes I to IV cover the land and the people and all useful details which are meant for teachers, social scientists researchers, parliamentarians, statesmen and students in India and abroad. Efforts have been made to fill up gaps with the help of writings of eminent authors. We are grateful to them.

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Madhya Pradesh Through The Ages

Volume – 1

Land and The People

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MADHYA PRADESH THROUGH THE AGES

Volume – 1

LAND AND THE PEOPLE

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O. P. Ralhan

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Contents

Preface

The history of central provinces, now called Madhya Pradesh, has deep bearing on socio-economic, cultural, religious and political aspects of a long period. It gives us a comprehensive outlook and make us weave a readable story of the period in question. The Marathas, Pindaries and other races have been dealt with in several ways. We assess this period in various ways and can do justice to numerous socio-economic and political aspects.

The encyclopaedia has been divided into four volumes which depicts the comprehensive glimpse of central India in its several phases.

Volume I has bearing on land and the people and contain Jamuna and Godavari, the hidden treasure, wealth, including plants, the C.P. Legislative Assembly and role of Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, law and order, D. P. Mishra and his career and last but not the least the revenue settlements.

Volume II has deep bearing on Pindaries and Marathas of the vast land of Central India. The role and growth of Pindaries, military, operations against them and Maratha's rule in Malwa have been depicted in this volume.

Volume III deals with society and economy in Madhya Bharat, administrative machinery of Paramaras and religious traditions.

Volume IV Social Revolution towards Swaraj, which has deep bearing on various phases of Bhopal. The struggle of the people has been highlighted.

We have collected the material from several institutions, viz. the Sapru House Library, Delhi University Library, Nehru Memorial

Museum and Library, Central Secretariat Library, Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, Indian Council of Historical Research Library, Jamia Millia Islamia Library and Sahitya Akademi Library, and feel beholden to the members of these centres of research for their support during our researches. We have used the relevant material from the writings of eminent authors to fill up the gaps. We are thankful to them.

These volumes would be useful for teachers, research scholars and students in India and abroad.

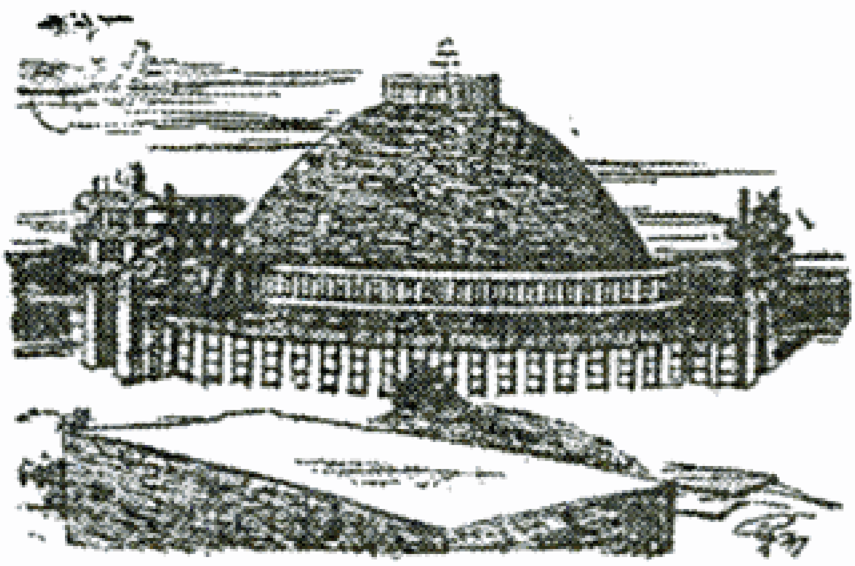
1

Introduction

I

At the ancient Buddhist Vihar of Anuradhapura in Ceylon, there is a 2200-year-old tree, which is regarded sacred by all the people. It is sacred, for it grew into its present great size from a little sapling of the Bodhi tree from India under which Lord Buddha had achieved enlightenment. Princess Sanghamitra, the daughter of Ashoka, who followed her brother Mahendra, had carried this sapling all the way to Ceylon in those remote days. The two had given their lives to spread Lord Buddha's gospel of love and peace. Do you know, Mahendra had started on this cultural mission from the Chetiyagiri or Sanchi near Vidisha? And do you know, the State in which we live, was the scene of these and other historic events and the seat of a glorious ancient culture? Priyadarshi Ashoka spent some years of his early life as the Governor and the just and noble Vikramaditya ruled here from his famous capital of Ujjayini. This was the heart of India and is now Madhya Pradesh situated in the centre of the country.





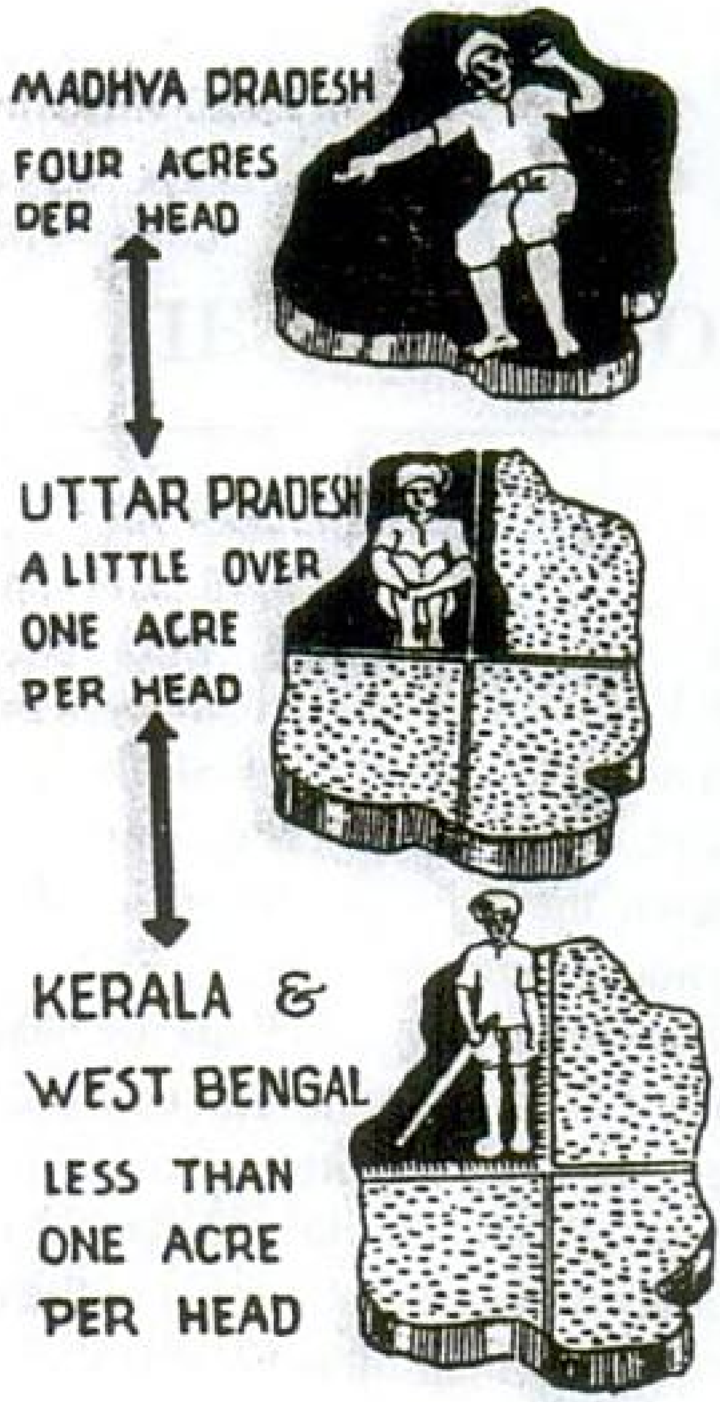
Madhya Pradesh in an ancient land, although the State, in the present from was created only in 1956. This was the result of the reorganisation of States. Under the British, India was divided into several provinces and about 550 Indian States where the Indian princes ruled. In her long history, India had fallen to foreign invaders again and again because of her disunity and jealousies among the numerous small States. When the country became free in 1947, our leaders decided that no longer should the country remain divided into small parts. They appealed to the good sense of the Princes who readily agreed and merged their States into the Republic of India. These have been reorganised into larger States. Madhya Pradesh comprises four units—former Madhya Bharat, Vindhya Pradesh and Bhopal States and 17 districts of former Madhya Pradesh. These in turn, comprised 61 former Indian States. A part was also exchanged with Rajasthan.

Have you seen a diamond? "Of course", you will say, "it is the most precious stone and only the Rajas and the rich can possess it." It is found in the mines of Panna, a district in our own State. The story goes that the brave ruler of Bundelkhand, Chhatrasal had received from his Guru a great sword and an armour. Chhatrasal needed money and arms to meet the might of the Moghuls. The Guru blessed him. "Go, my boy", he said, "victory will be yours and so far as your horse gallops today, will the earth below be filled with glittering diamonds". The story may only be a myth, but round about Panna, there are India's largest diamond mines which have been dug out for ages. How one wished the horse of Chhatrasal had also galloped over other parts of Madhya Pradesh. We might have had diamonds all over then! The State has, however, diamonds of other kinds. It is full of natural wealth. It has everything that we need. You will soon know more about it.

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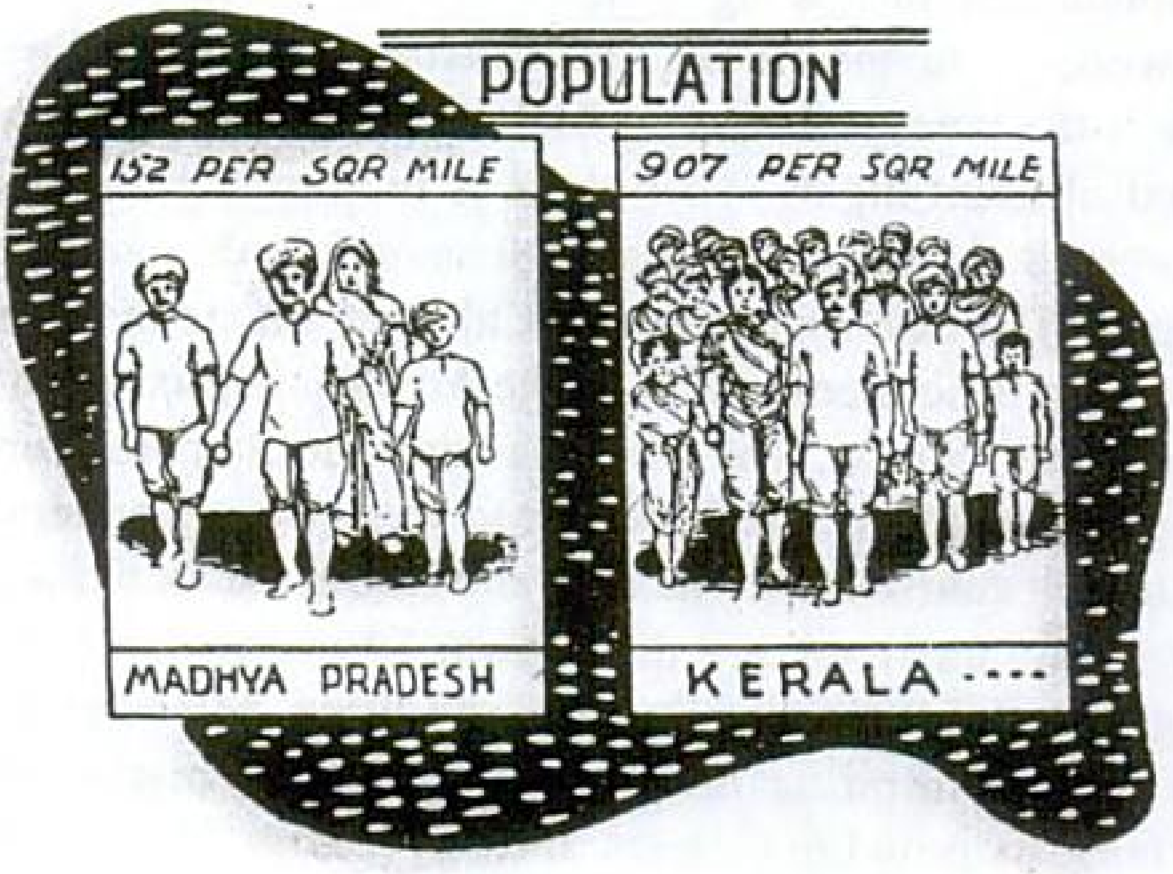
Jamuna to Godavari

Have you travelled by the Grand Trunk Railway which goes across a large part of the country from north to south? Now, if the route of the Grand Trunk Railway were to be diverted in our State so as to touch the southern Bastar district, the train would be in Madhya Pradesh nearly for twenty-five hours before it could cross the State limits. This only shows how far-flung the new State of Madhya Pradesh is. It is, indeed, the largest State in India. You can judge its size from the fact that it is bigger than Great Britain or nearly as big as the four States of West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Kerala taken together. It stretches from about six miles of the Jamuna in the north to Godavari in the south. A look at the map of India will show that it occupies a central position and is surrounded by seven other States of U.P., Bihar, Orissa, Andhra, Bombay, Gujarat and Rajasthan. One must spend some time before one can get even a passing acquaintance of such a big State. It would be necessary to see the maze-work of ravines along the Chambal in the northern areas. Below is the breezy plateau of Malwa which is known for its rich soil and pleasant nights. Then there is the fertile Narabada Valley. The forests and hills of the Satpura plateau provide some of Nature's best spots. The extensive plains of Chhattisgarh are the rice-bowl of the State. In the extreme south, is the Adivasi district of Bastar, with its ever-green forests. The Vindhyas and the Satpuras run parallel through the middle of the State east to west. Between them, flowing on a straight course is the Narbada and below the Satpuras the Tapti. Other important rivers are the Betwa, Chambal, Sone, Mahanadi, Wainganga and Indravati. To know the State, however, one should know its awe-inspiring ravines and khuds, its mighty rivers and waterfalls, its proud mountains and hill resorts, its glorious forests



and wild life, the weird beauty of its Nature and the simple faith of its hard-working people.

The number of people living in such a vast State, however, is not large. The State is seventh in India in respect of population. This is a great advantage. If the land in the various States were to be distributed, each person living in Madhya Pradesh would get over four acres, while in U.P., one would get a little over one acre and in Bengal and Kerala not even one acre. Now, how essential land is, it is needless to tell. It is on land that people live, cities



develop, our foodcrops are grown and from land that minerals are extracted. Land is like the mother to which we turn for all our needs. Shortage of land is often at the root of discontent, dispute and even war. When population increases, there is pressure on land. There is no such pressure on land in Madhya Pradesh. There are only about 152 people to one square mile, while in Kerala, there are 907 people in the same area. This means that there is a wide field for development in Madhya Pradesh. This was one of the reasons why such a State was formed.

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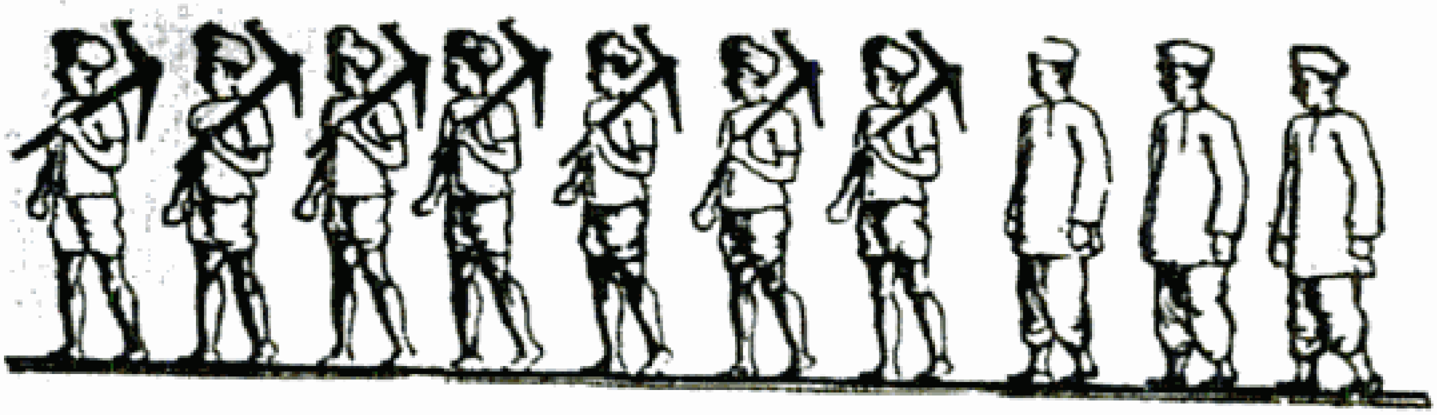
A Generous Nature

There were other important reasons too why this State was formed. Acres and acres of land alone are not enough, for example, if nothing could be produced on them. But Nature has been generous in her gifts to Madhya Pradesh. Its vast territory contains some of the granaries of the country. The Malwa, the northern districts and the Narbada Valley produce bumper wheat crops. The Malwa soil is rich and black. It gives a good yield of cotton needed for the textile mills and is, therefore, known as black-cotton soil. The soil in the Narbada Valley is rich and alluvial, covered with the fine silt of the great river similar to the famous soil of the Gangetic plains. The extensive south-eastern plains of Chhattisgarh receive heavy rains and are an important rice-producing area in the country. Other foodcrops produced in the State are jowar, bajra, maize, grams and pulses. Among the cash crops are, besides cotton, oil-seeds, sugarcane and also opium in some parts of Malwa. The State produces all its requirements of food and little more, if the rains are normal. In fact, over the years of food-shortage in the country, surplus rice from Chhattisgarh has been exported to the needy sister States. In what is known as the battle of food, Madhya Pradesh has played a significant role and continues to make its contributions.

Food, as you know, is essential for life. We could not think of a world without it. But, that exactly is what great thinkers and leaders are worried about. Our population is increasing every-day, but the land remains the same. A time may come, when there may be more men and not enough food. In India, we are in a rather difficult situation. This was the country, where once, it was said, milk and honey flowed and food was in plenty. Gradually, as the population increased, forests were cut down and cities grew up. Now, it is an

important principle of agriculture that for each acre of cultivated land, there should also be some forest land to give it moisture and protection. But the forests were being cleared. Besides, although the land continued to give its yield from year to year and harvests were cut, nothing was returned to the land. Its salts were reduced and its capacity to produce fell. This was going on for years. With added mouths, at last, food became in short-supply in the country.

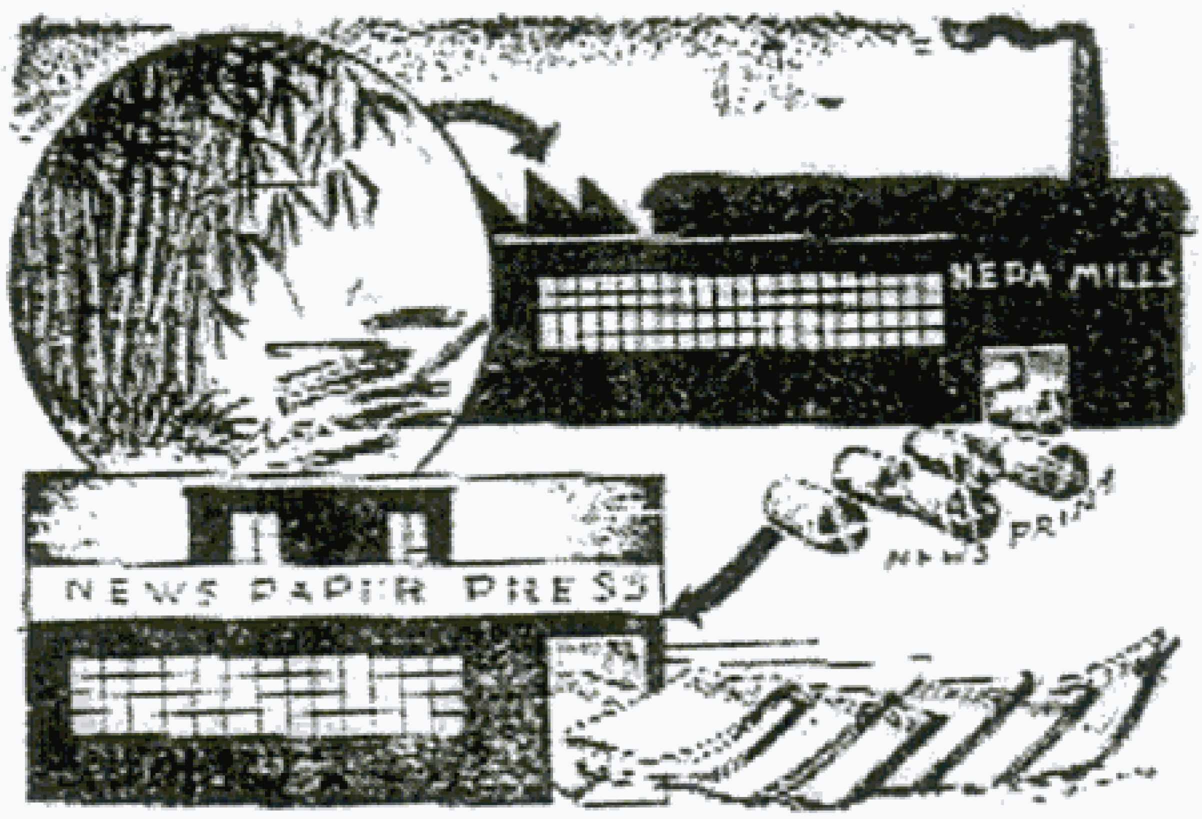
Our requirements of food today are met by importing large quantities from other foreign countries. This costs a lot and takes away much of our savings. This is one reason, why our Prime Minister and leader Shri Jawahar lal Nehru lays such an emphasis on growing more and more food from every acre of land. Being self-sufficient in our food-requirements, we, in Madhya Pradesh, cannot sit back contented, thinking that we produce enough for our needs and need no more. We have to think of other sister States and of the whole country. Madhya Pradesh is only a part of the country and if something is wrong with the country, we shall suffer too. All cultivable land now lying unused has to be brought under the plough and each acre has to be coaxed to yield more by use of scientific methods. Over seven, out of every ten people living in India depend upon agriculture for their livelihood. Agriculture is thus our biggest



industry, but it is not giving enough produce. In European countries and in Japan and Egypt, every acre produces three to four times of what is produced in the same area in India. This is the reason why our people are poor and unhappy. Our Government which consists of our elected representatives is trying to improve the condition of the people by removing the causes of poverty. This can be possible only when the people take to improved methods of agriculture. improve their own lot and that of the country.

It is by producing more from every acre that we can stop the money from being drained in the purchase of food grains from abroad and utilise the savings for the country's development. You must have heard about the country's First and Second Five-Year Plans. The above was the idea behind the origin of the Plan. You will know more about these later on.

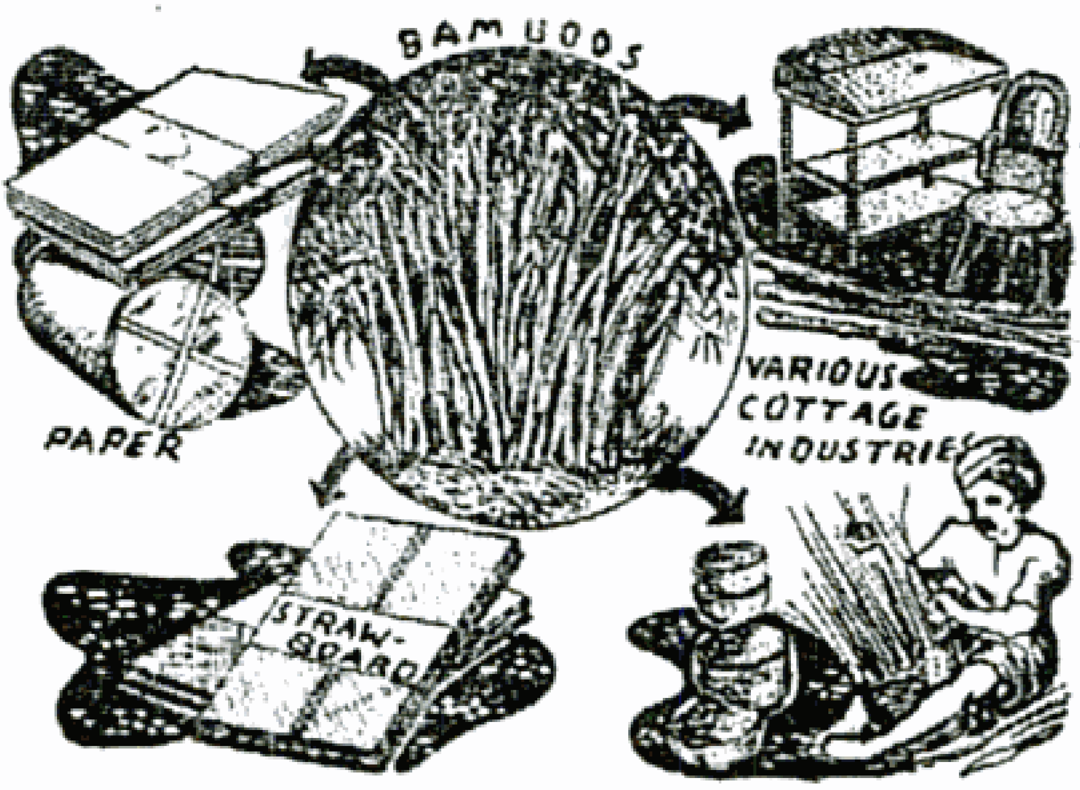
Madhya Pradesh is fortunate in that it has a fair balance of agricultural and forest land. Of every ten acres here, about four are clothes by forest greenery. The huge forest areas in the State not only help agriculture, they are part of our national wealth. The forests are the source of a number for raw materials for industries and are very



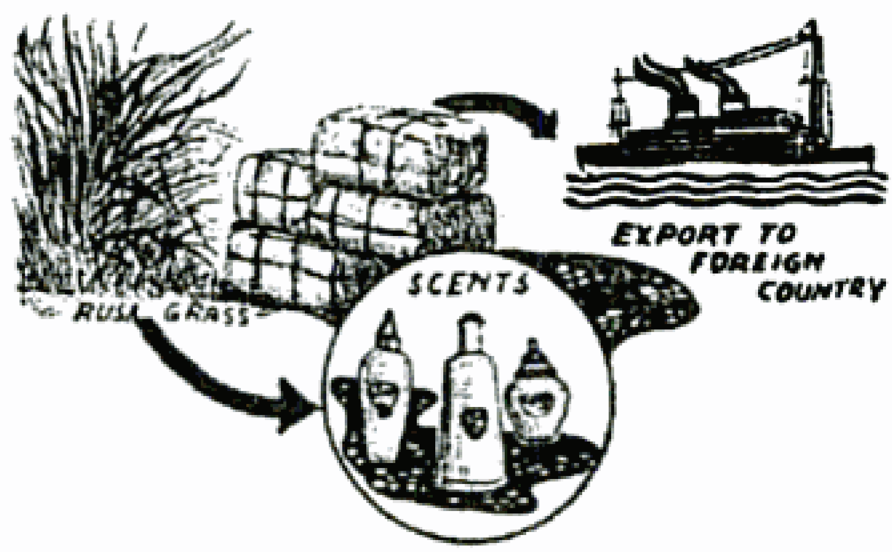
valuable for life. They give us timber, our fire-wood, wood for the ploughs and for constructing houses. The best variety of Indian teak is found in Madhya Pradesh forests. These also supply Tendu leaves for the Biri Industry. Among the other produce are included lac, resin, dye-material and medicinal herbs. You must have seen the wooden sleepers on which railway lines are fixed. These come largely from our sal forests. It is from these forests that supply of bamboo and salai-wood, which are the raw materials for news-print paper, are made to the Nepa Mils. Madhya Pradesh can be proud of this mill, for, it is the only newsprint mill in the country. You will ask, what news-print is like. In fact, you know it too well, although you may not have seen it in its original form. It is the paper on which

our daily news-papers are printed. This is a cheap, but very strong variety of paper, manufactured in about three to four-mile-long rolls to enable rotary printing. If you go to a newspaper office, you will see what rotary printing is. It is the printing machine for printing newspapers and the latest machine can print, cut and fold, ready for sale, up to one lakh copies of a 24-page newspaper in one hour. This explains how, within such a short time, the newspapers can be printed to carry all the world's news to far corners. The newspapers mould our views on important questions. In the present-day world, they are a powerful force.

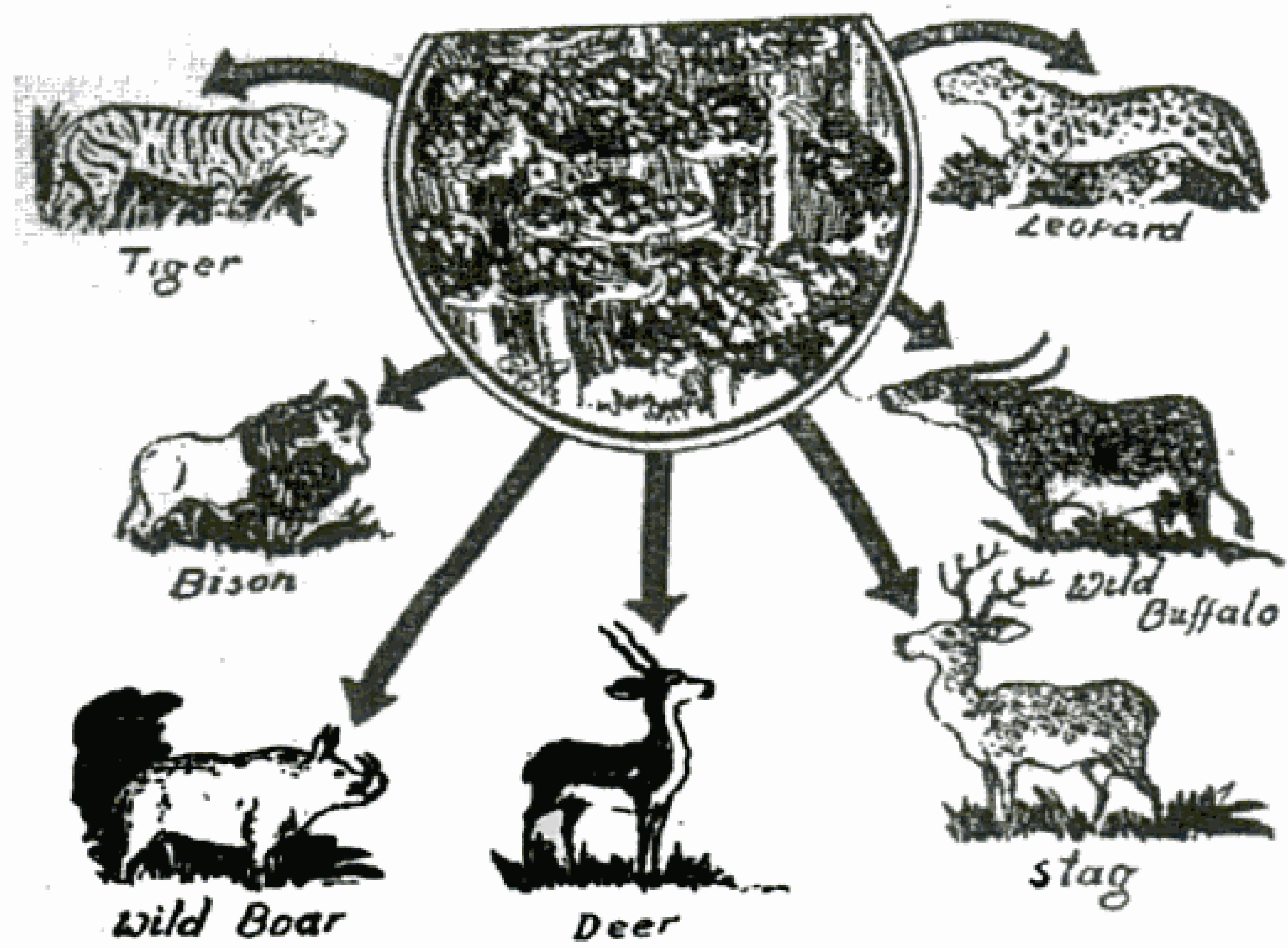
Bamboos are also required for manufacturing ordinary writing paper and strawboards and are put to a hundred other uses. Perhaps



you do not know, there is a special variety of scented grass, known as 'Rusa' grass growing in the forests of Betul district, which is sent to foreign countries for preparing scents.



Then, our forests are the home of many varieties of wild animals. Madhya Pradesh forests are known for big game or shikar of big animals and attract shikaris and photographers from distant lands. These forests abound in animals, such as, tigers, bison, blue bull, antelope, gour, wild buffalo, wild boar, leopard, deer, sambhar,



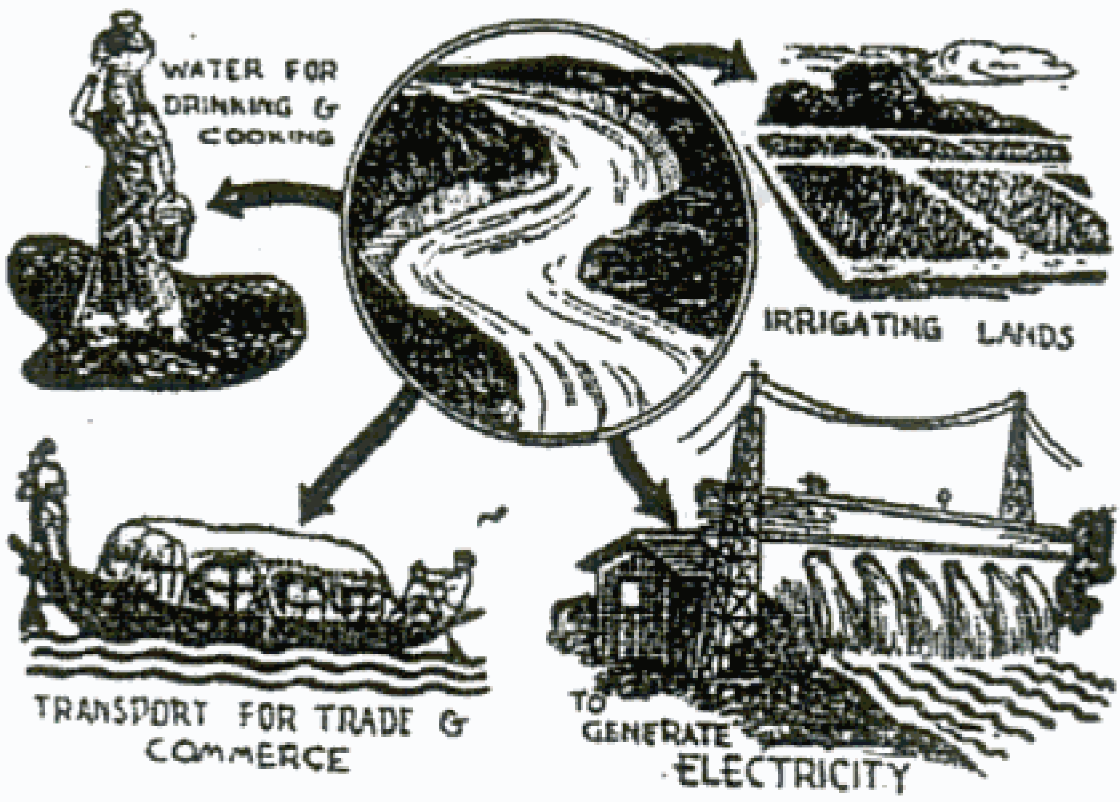
barasingha, etc. In the Rewa forest-belt is found a rare species of white tigers with black stripes. With the cutting down of forests, some of the varieties have vanished and others are becoming rare. Only about fifty years ago, elephants roamed in Madhya Pradesh jungles, but they are no longer found today. Emperor Jehangir, it is said, had hunted even lions in these forests. Now, there are no lions anywhere in India except the Gir forests of Saurashtra. The loss of wild animals is a grave loss. Imagine a forest without its animals. It would lose much of its thrill and beauty. It would be like a big deserted palace. Besides, a study of these animals provides valuable material in the whole study of life itself. There are people who are engaged in studying how life came on this earth, from where and in what form. Have you heard the name of Darwin.? He was a great scientist of the last century and spent his life studying about the forefatheis of man. What he found. took the world by surprise. He

came to the conclusion that man was a distant cousin of the monkey. for this, the scientist had to study all species of life in different lands and through different ages. Thus, you will see that every creation of Nature has its own value. There is increasing emphasis now on preservation of wild life, for, once a species is extinct, it does not lie in man's power to create it again.

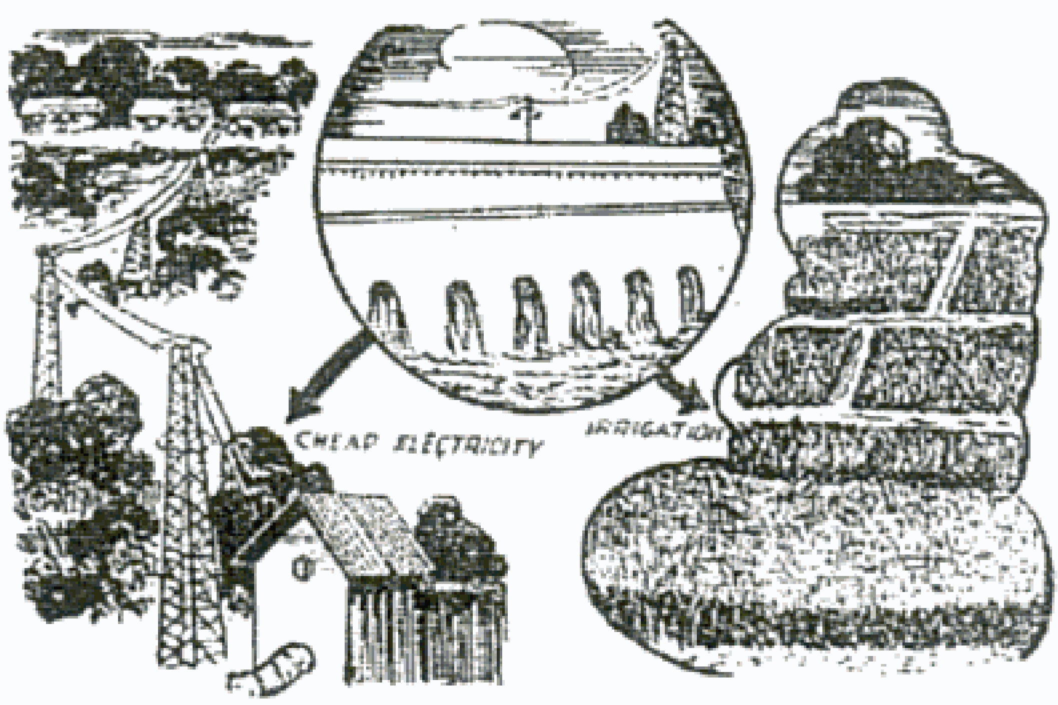
You already know the protective value of forests for our fields. In the absence of forests, rain water slowly cuts land into small lanes and the winds wear it out. The soil-surface which helps production of crops is washed away and the land becomes barren. This is known as erosion. If you see the ravines of the Chambal, you will know how, without forest, good land is destroyed. It is said that the ancient empires on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris were destroyed, because, due to erosion, land lost its fertility and slowly people either migrated or died away. Without forests, fields can turn into deserts, for, the forests give moisture to land and affect the climate itself. This explains why trees were regarded sacred in India. The 'Van Mahotsava' now observed is inspired by the same idea, namely, to plant more trees and preserve them, not only for the beauty of landscape, but also to preserve ourselves. In many countries, the march of deserts has been arrested by planting green belts of forests.

You will now know how useful and valuable our large forests—largest in India, almost double the size of whole Bengal—are. They are Nature's gift to us. It is our duty to make a wise use of them, so that this store-house of wealth is not lost to us, even while making its best use year after year.

Our river-systems are another source of energy and life. In Madhya Pradesh, a number of mighty rivers take their birth. They include, as you already know, the Narbada, Tapti, Mahanadi, Chambal, Betwa, Wainganga, Sone, etc. The Indravati forms a part of the southern boundary of the State. Since the dawn of history, the river valleys have been the seats of great empires and glorious civilisations in all parts of the world. In India, the rivers have been regarded sacred for the great service that they render to mankind. For, indeed, the rivers are life-giving. They give us our water, irrigate our fields and pastures and are a means of transport for trade and commerce. In modern times, the flow of the mighty rivers has



been harnessed for generating electricity. You will be told about the several multi-purpose river valley projects under the Five-Year Plans which are changing the face of the country. According to the wise makers of our Plan, water is a great source of energy and wealth, but, in India, we are only making use of about 1/16th of our water-resources. Our mighty rivers carry huge volume of water pouring them into the salty oceans. While our fields are parched for want of rains, so much water runs off to waste before our very eyes. By putting dams across the rivers, all this water can be stored and cheap electricity produced. With a number of great river-systems, Madhya Pradesh can count upon yet another source of wealth in them. We have only to realise our potentialities and work hard to rise up to our full stature.

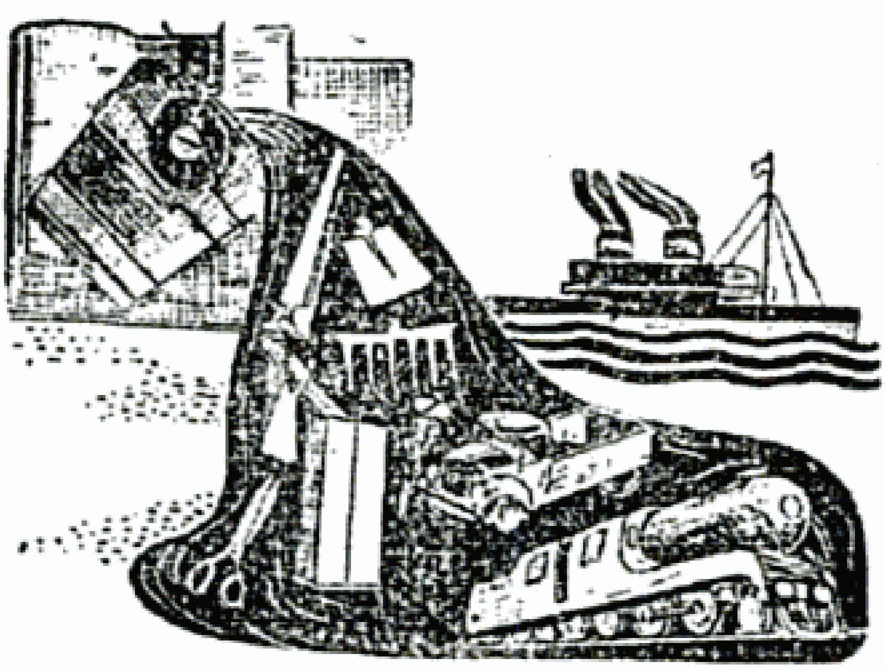


4

Hidden Treasures

You may be aware of the story of the 'Jin' imprisoned in jar. It may only be a fairy tale, but in Madhya Pradesh, there is a 'Jin' imprisoned under the surface of the earth. This 'Jin' is no other than the vast deposits of mineral wealth lying untapped below. As you know, we are living in an industrial age, in which only agricultural produce cannot sustain a country. For, we need a variety of goods in our daily life. The factories give us these finished products from raw materials. Thus, it is the raw materials which are a country's real treasure. It is this 'Jin' which, when commanded, gives us our ships, planes, motor cars.





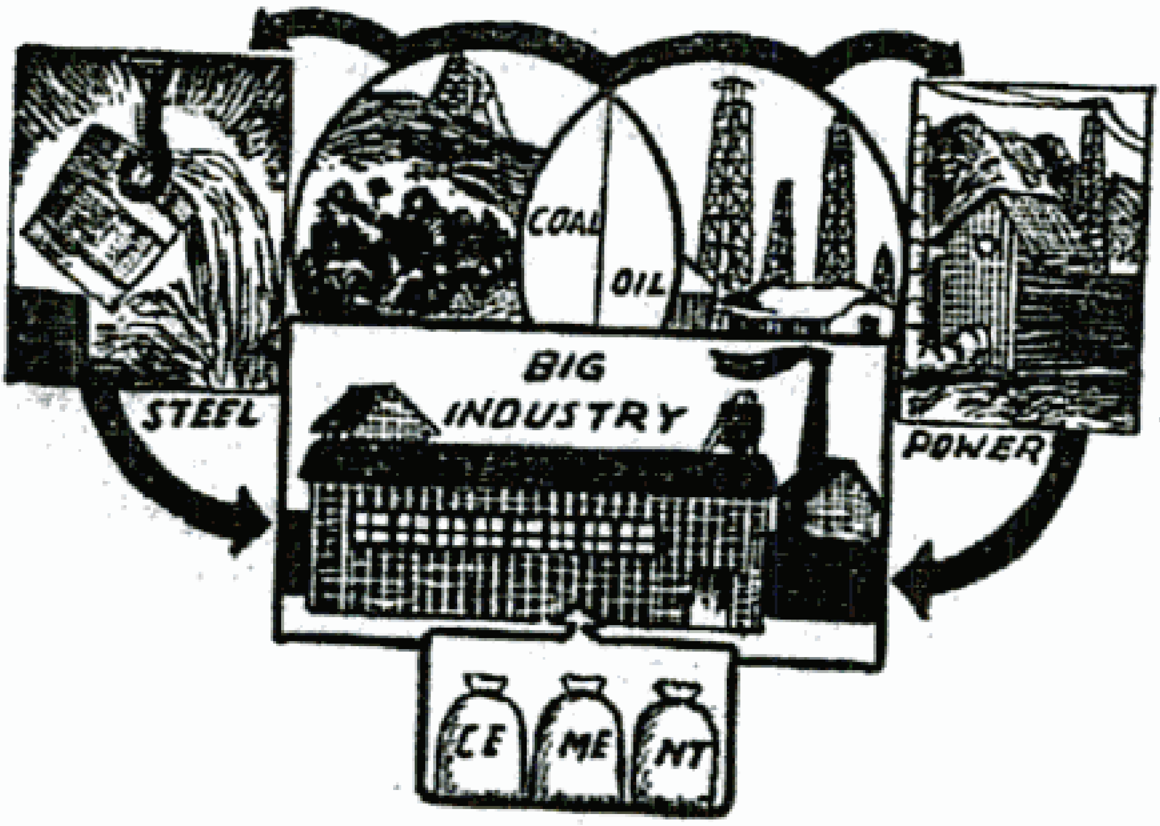
radios and a thousand other gifis. The more a country is endowed with these raw materials, the better will its future be assured. When you learn the history of some of the great nations of today, you will know, how, once humble countries developed into great powers because of these possessions.

The man who detects these minerals below the earth's surface is known as the geologist. Now, if you find an opportunity to



accompany such a man, don't miss it. With his strange detecting machines and mysterious maps, he goes about through thick forests and deep valleys, down the river-beds and up the mountain tops. It has the same thrill of adventure as a real treasure-hunt. It may be, you may yourself decide to be trained as a geologist and find for the country its hidden treasures.

So, what these geologists in their searches in the past have found in our State, is something which is enough to make our province one of the richest in India. This was in the mind of the members of the States Re-organisation Commission, when they recommended this new State to be formed. Madhya Pradesh has the makings of a great industrial State. What are the factors that go to make such a State? If you study the history of an industrial country like Germany, Britain or U.S.A., you will find that steel, cement and power make them what they are. In fact, the structure of the modern industrial civilisation is made up of steel and cement. Electricity



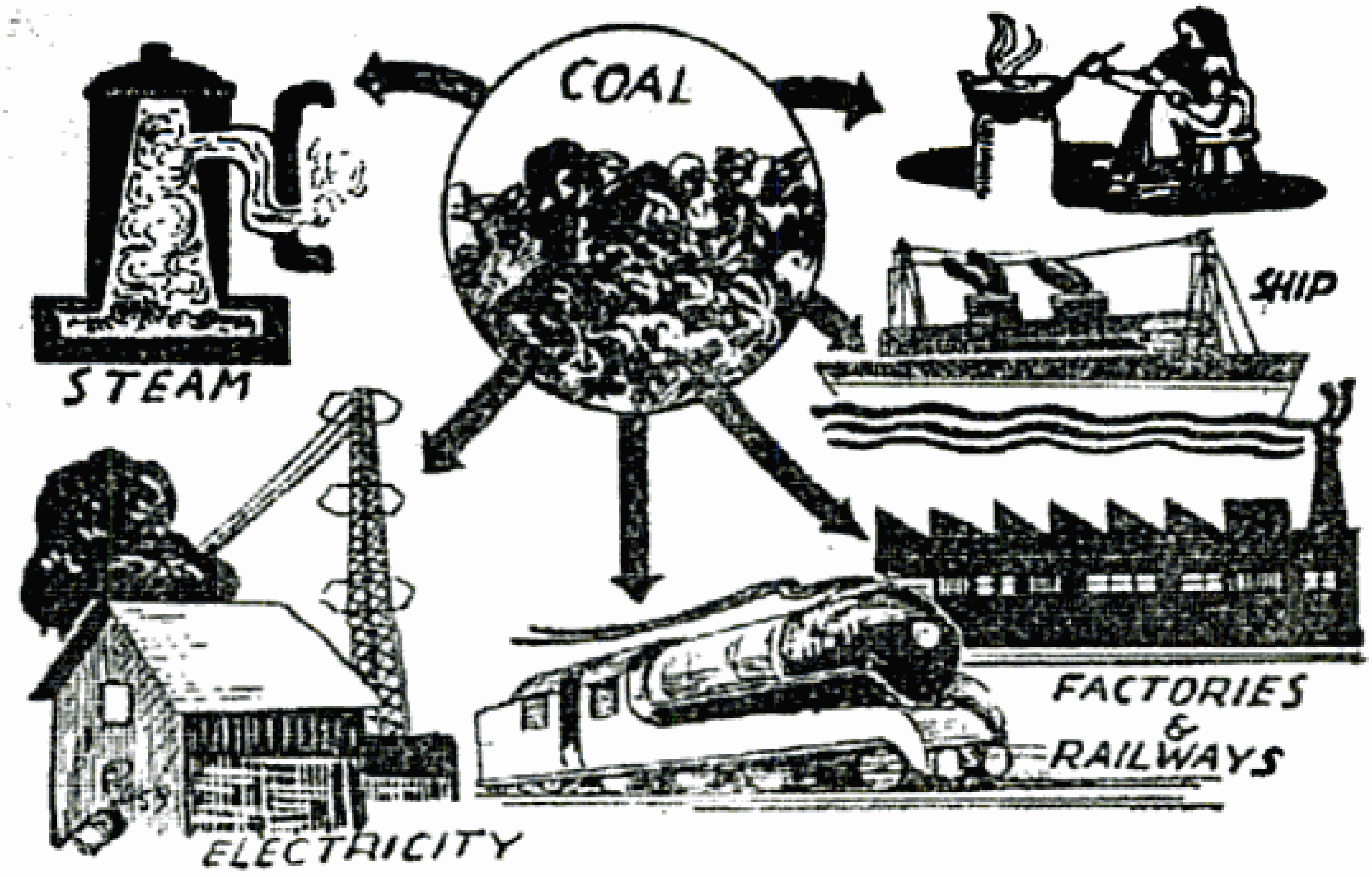
may be said to supply its moving spirit. These are the three factors essential for any State to develop into a first class industrial unit. Luckily, Madhya Pradesh contains vast deposits of these basic materials. Some time back, our Prime Minister described the eastern States as the Ruhr of India. Ruhr basin in Western Germany is known for its rich deposits of iron ore and coal. It has, therefore, developed into a great centre of industries. Likewise, the Prime Minister saw the picture of these areas developing into a great industrial region. Although, he did not mention Madhya Pradesh, eastern Madhya Pradesh is an integral part of this vast belt, which will be some day the source of India's power and prosperity.

You may have heard about the huge Steel Plant being built with Russian help at Bhilai, about 14 miles from Raipur. It was near-about here that Sir Jameshedji Tata, great industrial pioneer and the founder of the Tata Steel Works, first thought of setting his Plant. For some reason, he selected the present Jamshedpur site. But, the huge iron ore deposits lying around Bhilai were considered valuable even then and have been now the main factor in favour of this area. The geologists have found out from a preliminary survey that in the districts of Bastar and Durg alone, there are, what one may call whole mountains of iron-ore of high-grade content. One such is Raughat and another Bailadila—the hump of a bullock—in Bastar listrict, which contain some of India's highest-quality iron ore leposits and in such vast quantities that they could last for the whole vorld's requirements at the present rate for years to come. Madhya

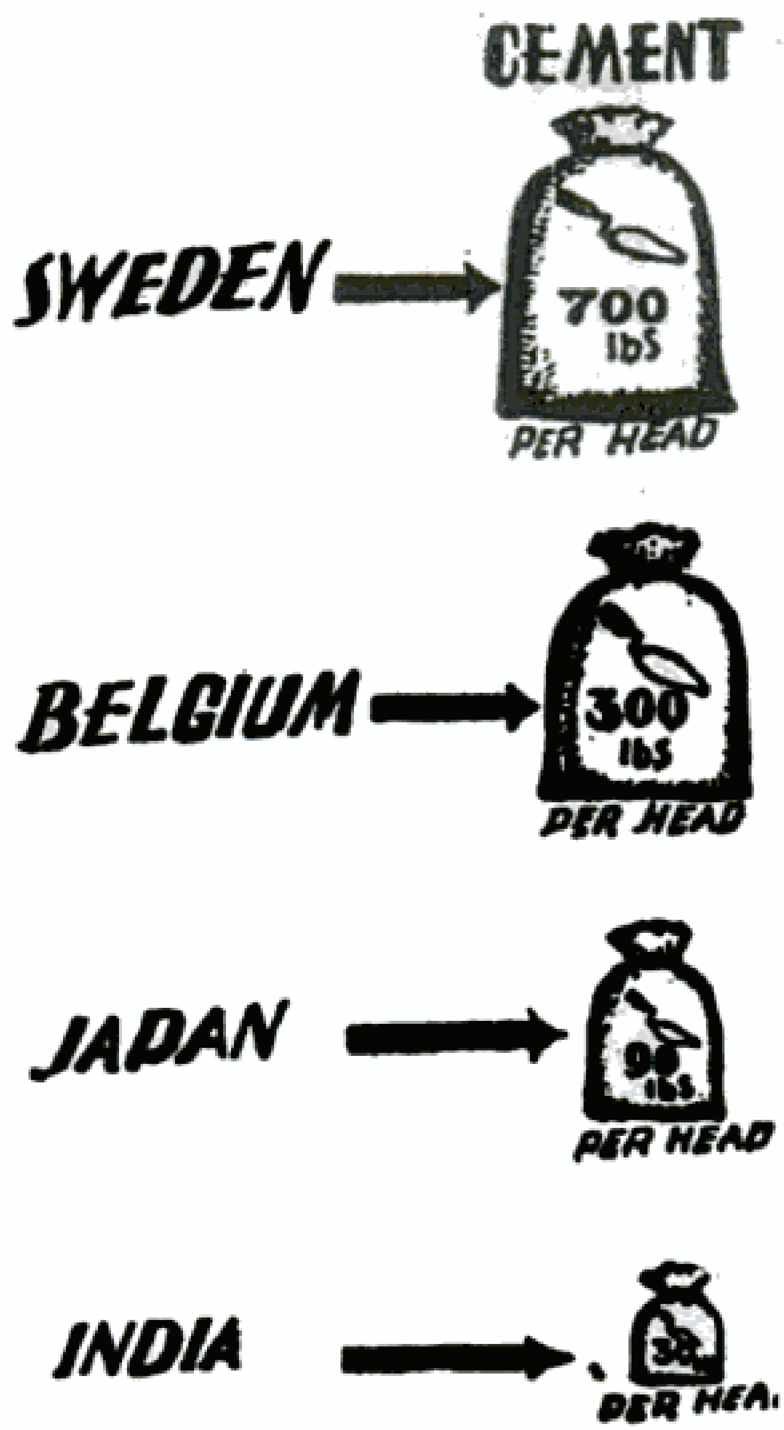
Pradesh has, indeed, perhaps the world's richest known iron ore deposits. Besides Durg and Bastar, iron ore is available in the districts of Jabalpur, Narsinhapur, East Nimar, Chhatarpur, Gwalior, Sidhi, Dhar and Mandsaur. These have, however, remained untapped so far. As the blast furnaces of the Bhilai Steel Plant are fired, their requirements will be met from the Delhi Rajhera mines, about 53 miles from the Plant, still leaving the other deposits untouched. A country's prosperity is known by the amount of steel used per person. In America, the per head steel production is about 1540 lbs., in Britain 891 lbs. and in Japan 250 lbs. In India, you may be surprised, it is only 11 lbs. per head. This is the reason, why the Indian Government decided to raise the production of steel in the country from 13 lakh tons to about 60 lakh tons per year by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan, or by 1961. As a result, three Steel Plants—one at Rourkela in Orissa, another at Bhilai in MP and the third at Durgapur in Bengal are being set up. The production capacity of the existing plants, such as the Tatas, has also been the raw material from which all big industries are forged.

Next to steel is coal. Although the best variety of coal—metallurgical coal, has not yet been found in Madhya Pradesh, there are extensive belts of coal-fields spread in the various districts. The coal mines of Pench Valley in Chhindwara district. Shahpur, Patherkheda in Betual district, Chirmiri, Tatapani in Surguja district, Mohapani in Narsinhapur district. Umaria and Sohagpur in Shahdol district, and Sidhi and Raigarh mines already yield huge quantities of coal. The rich mines of Korba in Bilaspur district are now being opened up by the Government and would provide another great source of coal-supply. Recently, another large deposit was found in Singrauli in Sidhi district. There are several other untapped coal deposits also in the districts of Surguja, Sidhi and Raigarh. The search is on and it is believed that Madhya Pradesh may have metallurgical coal deposits also. Coal is known as black gold. It is solidified energy. It produces steam and electricity, runs railways, ships, factories and big plants. Coal is the life-blood of modern industries. We are fortunate in having this material in great abundance.

Cement is another vital industrial ingredient. It is a modern wonder material. Without it, the huge buildings, mighty dams, big



factory sheds, roads, bridges, channels and townships which spring up in no time, could not be conceived. Cement is the building material easiest to handle. It is liquid stone and lends itself to a variety of uses. Do you know about the highest building in the world? It is the Empire State building in New York. With its 102 storeys, it is 1248 feet high. During office hours in day time, it holds a population of 25,000, almost a small district town. It is one of the world's wonders; and it is nothing but a miracle of steel and cement. Nearer home, in our own country, is being constructed the second highest dam in the world—the Bhakra Dam. It will hold, as if in its plam, the mighty Sutlej river, creating a lake 56 sq. miles in area. To hold such a river, it must be very very strong and strong it shall be, for it will be a solid cement concrete structure, 740 feet high—more than 3 times the height of Kutub Minar. It would have so much cement, it is said, that it would be sufficient to build an eight-foot wide road around the globe. So, you see, what part cement plays and why it is so essential. Cement is made up mainly of limestone and clay. There are hundreds of square miles covered with limestone in Madhya Pradesh, from which thousands of tons of cement can be manufactured. Indeed, in our State, Kymore near Katni has the largest cement factory in India. There are two other cement factories—one at Banmore in Morena district and the other at Satna. In every advanced country, there is considerable use of cement. That

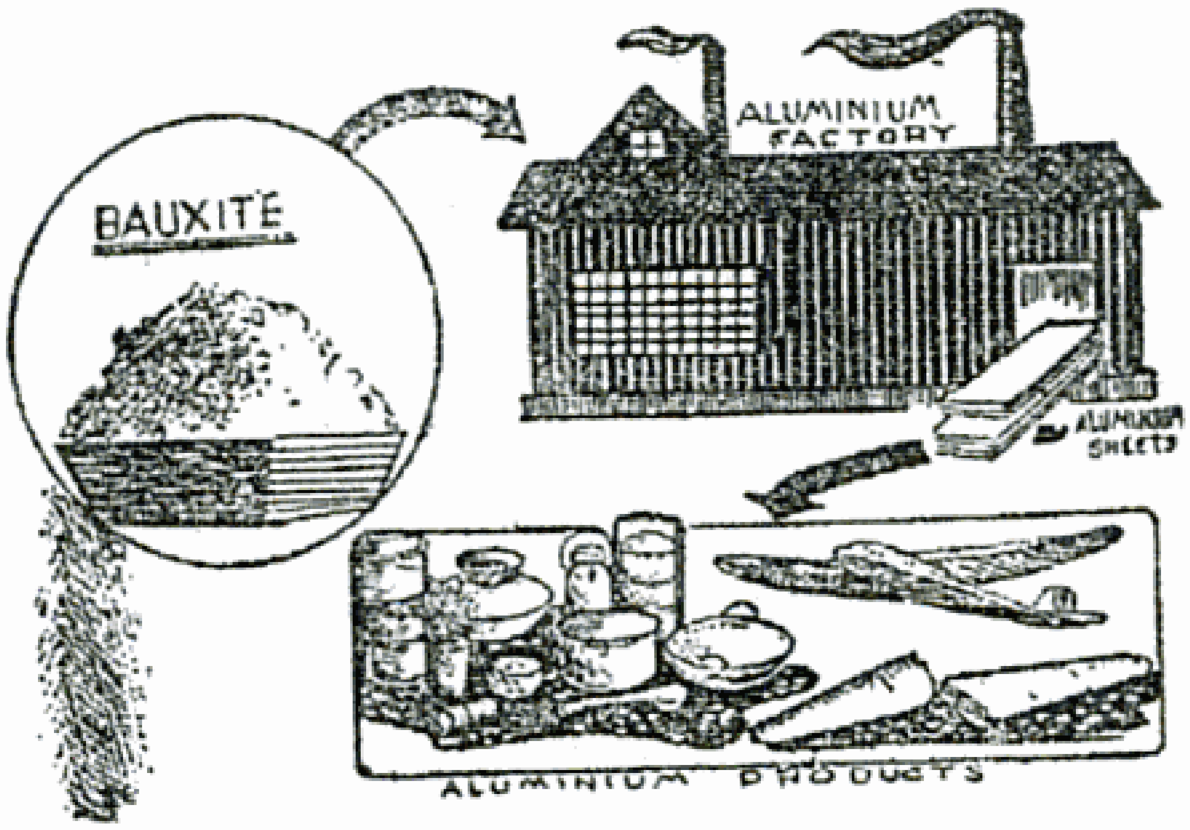


is also a measure of a country's progress. In Sweden, the use of cement per head is 700 lbs., in Belgium 300 lbs., in Japan 90 lbs.; but in India, it is only 30 lbs. That is why, in the Second Plan, the target for cement production has been fixed thrice our production.

Iron, coal and cement are not all. Madhya Pradesh is the proud owner of a wide range of valuable minerals—from coal to diamond. It is here in Panna that about 95 per cent of India's diamonds are extracted from. Then, there is manganese of which the State has some of the finest deposits in the country. This is another important mineral required for making high quality steel. If you go to Balaghat, you will see trolleys hoisted up in the air carrying manganese ores from the mines along miles and miles of ropeways to the railhead. It is also needed for preparing weapons of war. It is, therefore, also considered a strategic material and is in great demand all over the world. Its export brings large amounts of foreign money or foreign exchange which we need so much to purchase heavy machinery from abroad. Manganese is among the key-minerals for a modern industrial State. We are lucky in possessing India's foremost deposits of almost the best quality manganese in the districts of Balaghat and Chhindwara. Manganese is available in Jabalpur and Jhabua districts also.

Among other important minerals found here is bauxite, the raw material for aluminium industry. This is found in such abundance in

Amarkantak and Katni, that it is said that we can even have the world's largest aluminium factory in the State. Bauxite is also available in Seoni, Balaghat, Mandla, Raigarh and Surguja districts. Aluminium is the next most important metal after steel. It is very light, strong and rust-proof. It is used for aeroplanes and brought to a hundred other industrial uses.



Together with the three basic materials, viz. coal, iron and cement, manganese and bauxite give to Madhya Pradesh the sure title as 'the future home of heavy industries'—another Ruhr of India, her pride and her hope!

To name a few other minerals in the state, are mica, copper, china-clay, ochre, dolomite, steatite, corundum and diamond. There are, in fact, twenty main varieties of minerals which are extracted from 543 mines in the State. What is taken out is a mere fraction of the great wealth that lies buried. If only we know to make proper use of it, like the Jin, it can bring to our doors all the good things of life and change the very face of our present poor State.

The secret of the Jin's power, however, lies in electricity. You perhaps know the story of James Watt who discovered the power of steam. Steam had brought in the industrial revolution and changed the society from feudal to modern industrial. Later came into the field electricity. Electricity has altered the face of civilisation. A

country's real progress is known today by its per capita electric consumption. The more electricity a country has, the more advanced it becomes materially. America and Russia are the industrial giants today, only because of their basic raw materials and electricity. In the field of electric generation, our condition is rather pitiable. While the per capital consumption of electricity is 3905 k. w. in Canada, 2207 k. w. in America, 1100 k. w. in the U.K., it is only 14 k.w. in India. That is why big projects for generation of electricity from water and coal have been launched under the Plan, so that we may catch up with other countries soon. In the meanwhile, however, the world is on the threshold of harnessing the staggering power of the tiny atom for peaceful uses. If human good will prevails and we are saved an atomic war, the whole world will share the blessings of atomic revolution. An era of plenty and prosperity can be within the reach of everyone in no distant future. Madhya Pradesh with all its rich stores of basic materials will have to play a leading part in the development of the country.

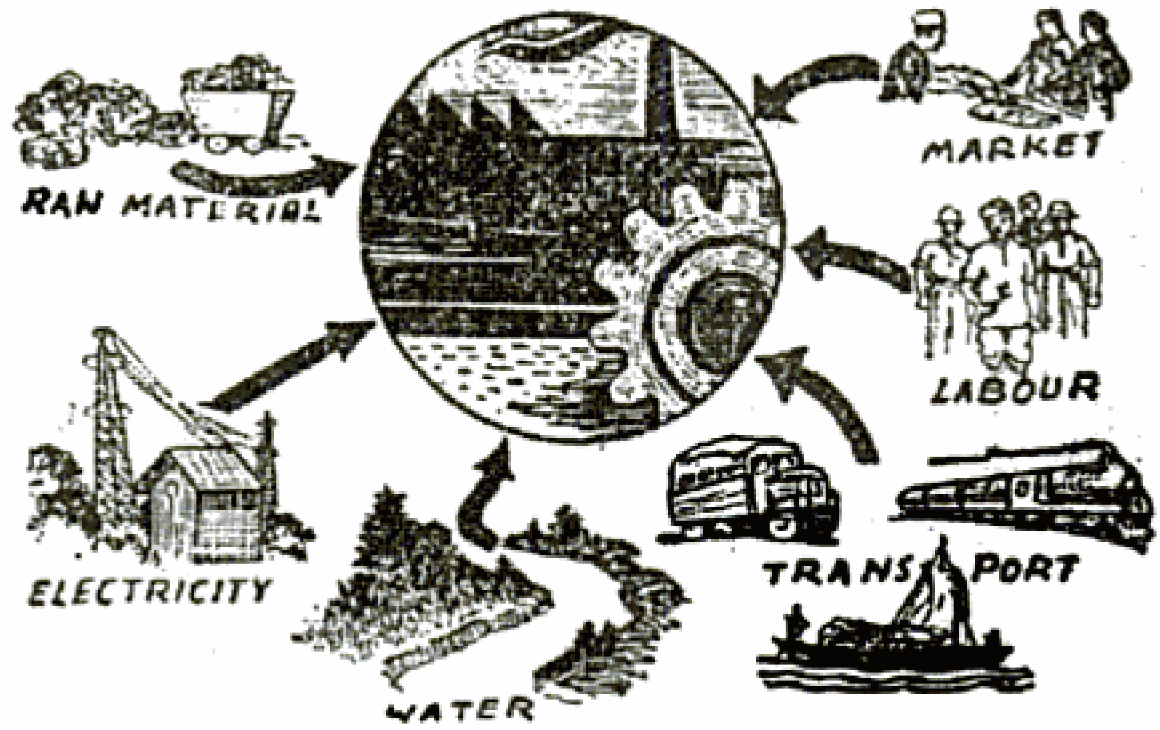
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Manufacturing Wealth

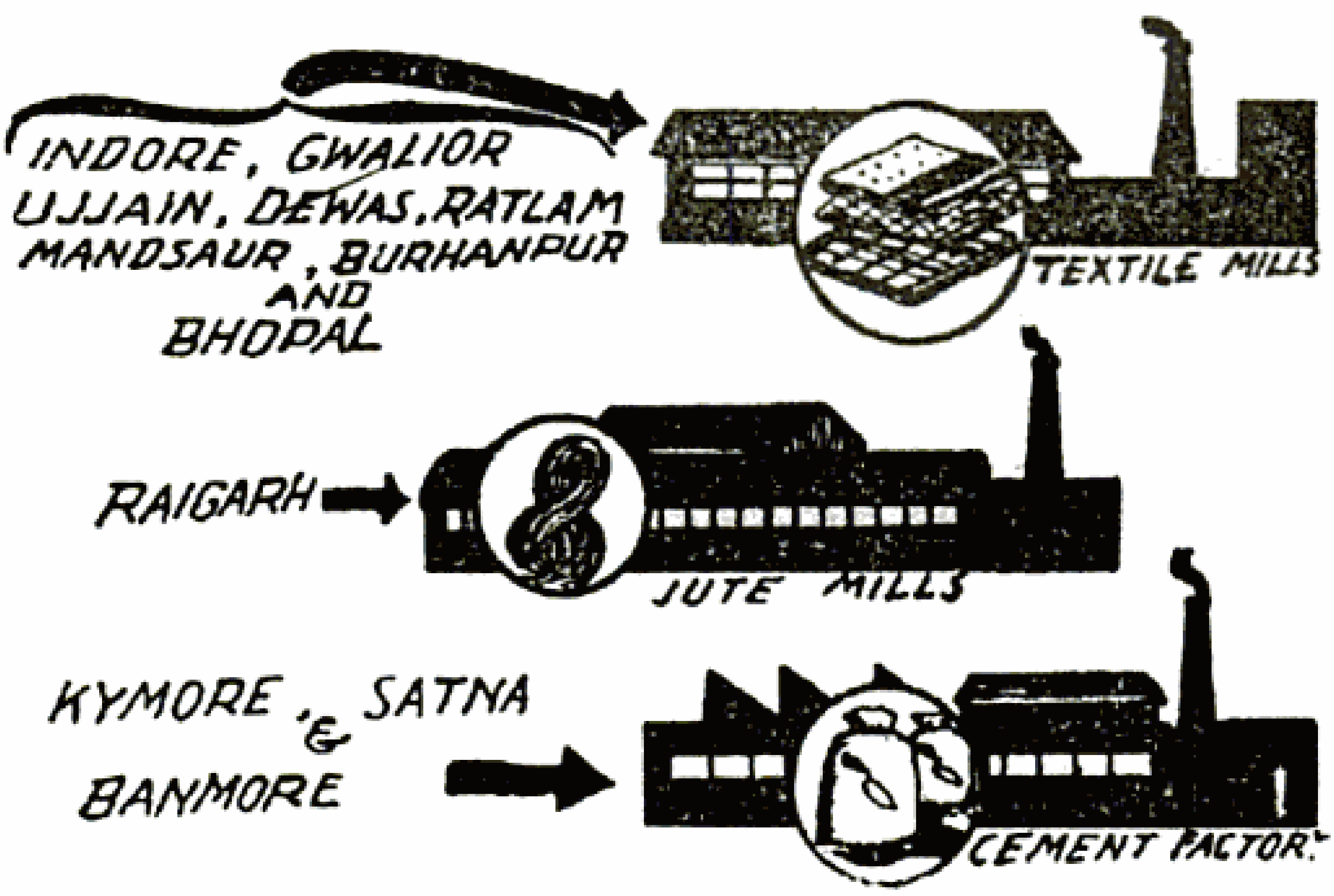
Now, having discovered all this hidden wealth, you may as well ask why it is that we do not take it out and make our State rich and prosperous. But, that is not so easy. It is like harnessing the Jin or getting him under control. There are similar mineral deposits in several other States also, and India as a whole is very rich, when judged by these buried treasures. This is her industrial potential, and shows how far she can be developed, if all the mineral wealth is fully utilised. Now, this can be done only by establishing new industries and by turning our raw material into manufactured goods for sale in our markets and for export abroad. This is the way the great industrial nations have come up. India is still an agricultural country. A great majority of our people depend on the land for whatever it can produce. Most of our industrial potential lies untapped. We have to cover a large ground before we can compare with the industrial nations. This is what our Second Five-Year Plan is trying to do to some extent.

If we have a look at our own State, we shall find that despite all our raw materials, not many industries have grown. A lot has yet to be done. When the old Madhya Pradesh was re-organised, the eight marathi speaking districts of Vidarbha were included in Bombay State. Vidarbha was known for its cotton which supported a number of textile mills. The region had a number of other industries also. The place of Vidarbha has now been taken in new Madhya Pradesh by Malwa. New Madhya Pradesh brings bout an ideal combination by the unification of different units. While in northern Madhya Pradesh, there are industrially more developed and richer areas, in south-eastern Madhya Pradesh, there are its great mineral deposits. Together, the four units that have merged to create new Madhya Pradesh, make of it a province full of promise and with an assured future.

Industries depend on a number of factors, such as, raw material, electricity, water, capital, labour, transport and markets.

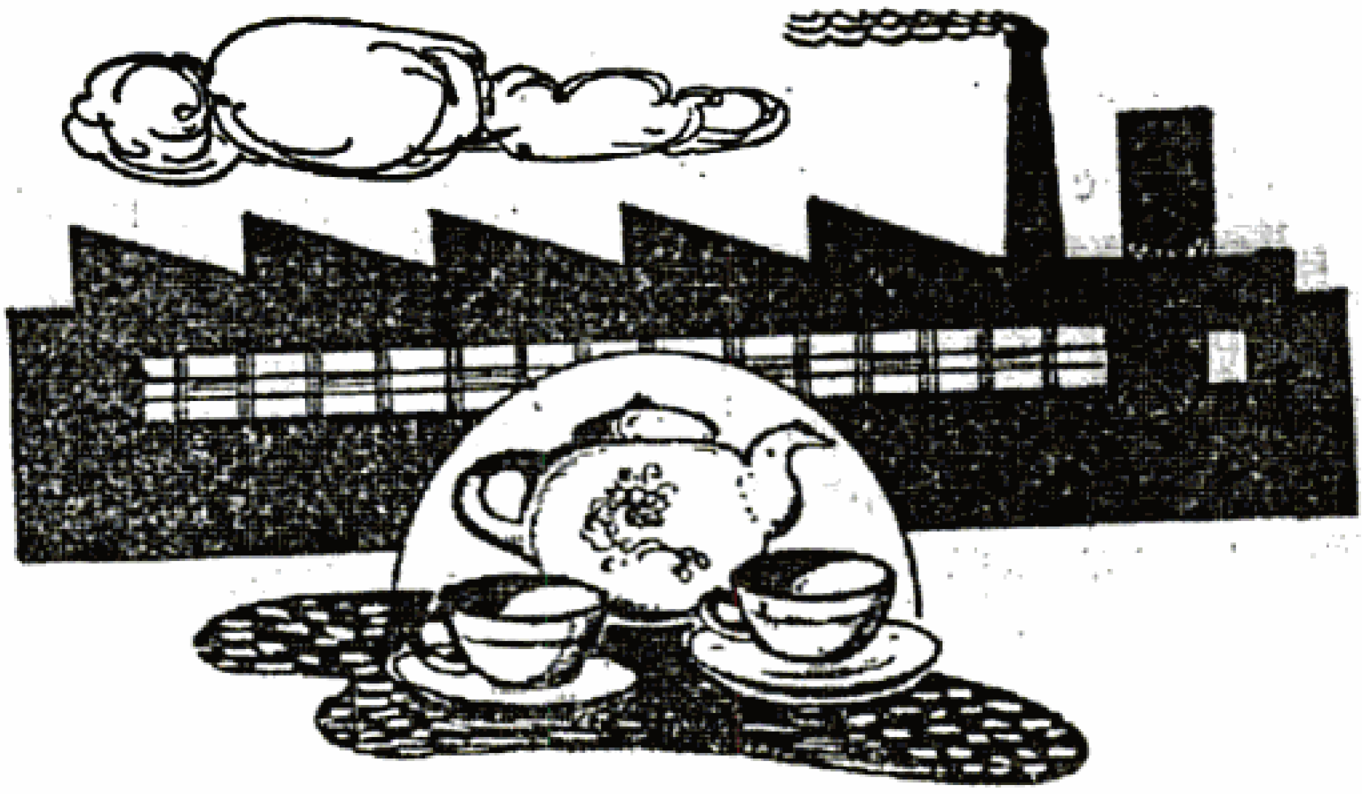


The black cotton soil of Malwa region produces good cotton. There is, therefore, a concentration of textile mills in this region. There are in all twenty textile mills in the State including one at Rajnandgaon.

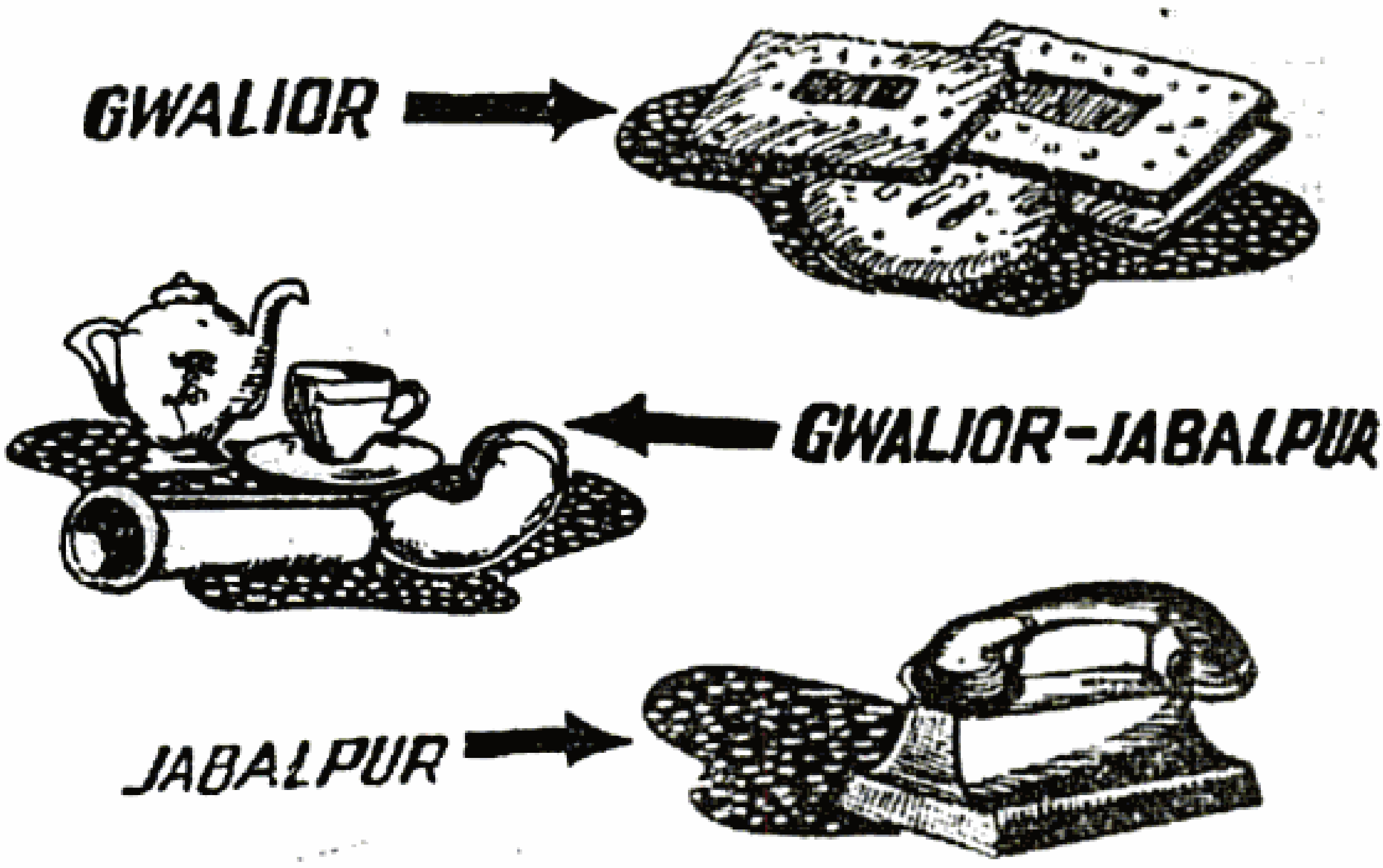


Indore, which is the biggest city in Madhya Pradesh, is also its biggest textile centre. Other textile mills are at Gwalior, Ujjain, Dewas, Ratlam, Mandsaur, Burhanpur and Bhopal. Gwalior has a huge textile and rayon factory and Indore and Nagda have artificial

silk factories. There is also a jute mill—the only one of Madhya Pradesh, at Raigarh. There are five sugar mills in the northern area.



As you know, Kymore, near Katni has the largest cement factory in India and the two other cement factories are at Banmore and Satna. Two more cement factories are likely to be set up in Durg. There are



potteries at Jabalpur, Gwalior, and Ratlam. Gwalior produces good crockery in fine shades of colour. Indeed, if you give a design or your name, you can have a good tea-set a flower-pot from this

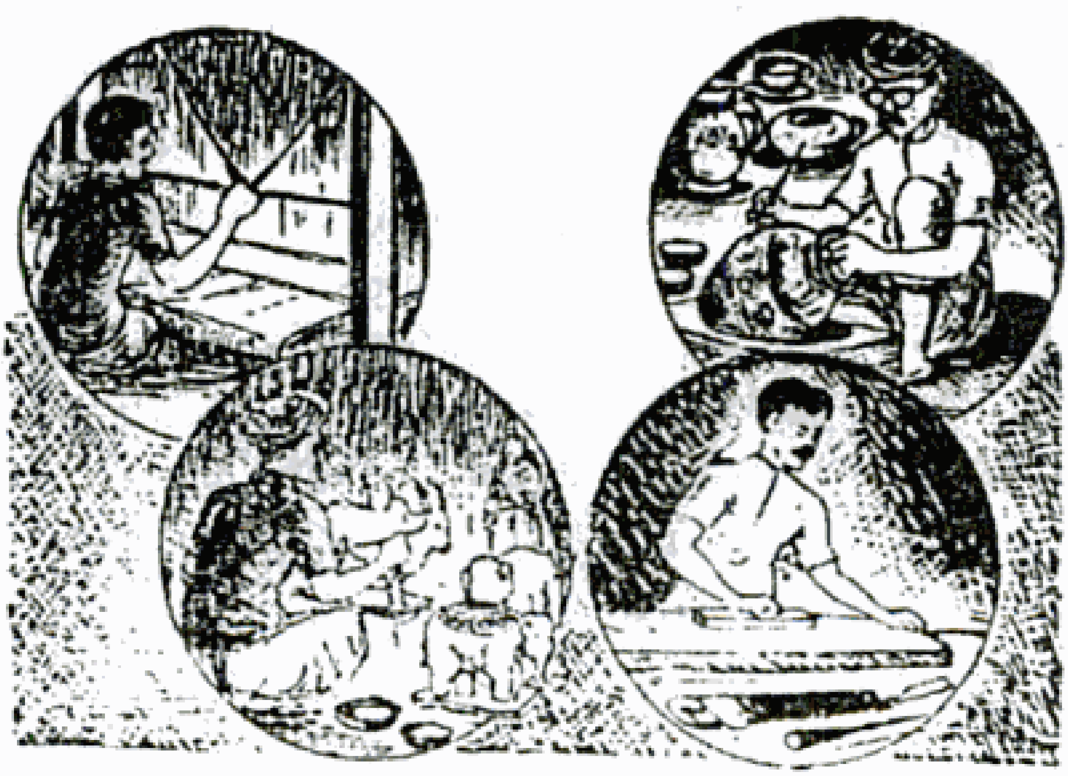
factory ready with the given design or name. Gwalior has also India's biggest Biscuit factory. The preparation of biscuits from raw stuff to finished product with trade mark neatly stamped on it, is a fascinating process to watch. The whole thing is automatic and untouched by hand. Every second, about 2 pounds of biscuits are turned out ready for sale. The factory is quite popular among the children, for, when they visit it, each child gets a free gift of biscuits. Gwalior has also an automatic loom factory and is known for its leather goods and carpet industries. Indore, however, is the largest industrial centre of Madhya Pradesh and has a variety of industries. There is a clock factory at Indore. Ujjain has a razor-blades factory. Bhopal and Ratlam have straw-board factories and a staple fibre plant is working at Nagda. A paper mill is also to be set up near Shahdol. At Jabalpur, there is a factory which manufactures telephone apparatus. At Nepa Nagar, as you are aware, there is the only news-print mill of India. The factory has already started producing news-print. When it works to its full capacity, it will produce about 100 tons of newsprint daily. This means that in one day the mill will produce so much news-print that if it were to be unrolled, it would cover a 325-mile stretch from Nepa Nagar to Bombay. All this paper will, however, be enough only for one-third of India s requirements.

The most important of all, however, is the giant steel plant at Bhilai. This will be one of the most modern plants and will produce about 7.7 lac tons of finished steel. When this project takes full shape, what was once a little known halting station of Bhilai, midway between Raipur and Durg, will be a town with about a lakh of population. In fact,the entire area of 26 miles between Raipur and Durg will develop into one great industrial colony. This will be the steel city of Madhya Pradesh and serve as the foundation of the State's industrial super-structure. Another factory, the only one of its type in India meant to produce heavy electrical goods, is being set up by the Government near Bhopal. This will be the second largest factory in Madhya Pradesh after Bhilai. It is a key-project. It will produce heavy electrical goods. like transformers, switch-gears, motors, turbines, etc. At present, we are dependent on foreign countries for these goods and have to pay heavy prices. With growing industrialisation and increasing electrification, we need

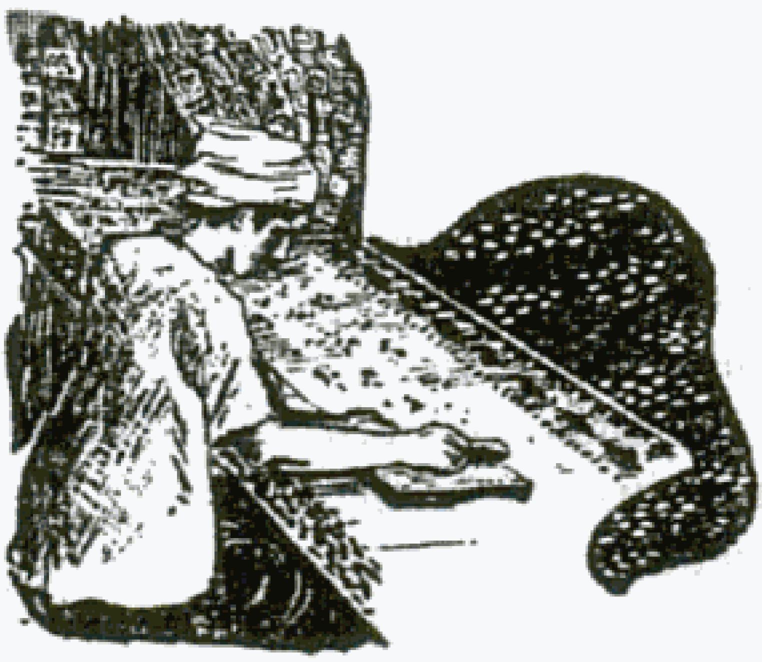
more and more of these equipments. In future, when we have enough electricity, we can also expect to have huge aluminium factories. As the industries begin to grow, Madhya Pradesh will rise like an awakened giant and will be a pillar of strength to the whole country.

Big industries, however, are not the panacea to all our problems. Indeed, along with the prosperity and riches that the industries bring, follow a number of problems. This is something of a paradox. Therefore, very careful planning has to be done before starting industrialisation. Ours is a country with lacs of villages and a huge population. Large-scale industries produce more goods quickly and cheaply, but also replace human labour. We have, therefore, to make sure that along with large-scale industries, there are other industries which can be carried on a small scale in cottages or in homes without requiring huge capital investment and at the same time giving employment to large numbers. It is through a judicious combination of large-scale and small-scale industries that wealth can be produced without causing unemployment. This is what Mahatma Gandhi wanted. He was not against machines, but he did not want the machines to gain precedence over human values. This is the reason, why there is such emphasis—quite justified too—on the development of cottage industries.

Luckily, we have in Madhya Pradesh a number of traditional crafts. The Government supports these by arranging sale, by granting loans, by scientific training in the crafts, by improvement in the methods and by giving new modern designs which will attract



customers. You may have heard about the famous Chanderi sarees. They are foam-like soft and shining products of the weavers of Chanderi, near Gwalior, who have been at the job for the last many generations—ever since the days of he Moghul emperors. Chanderi reminds one of the famous Dacca '*mulmul*'. The sarees produced here are very popular and in demand among foreign ladies too. Also famous for their zari border sarees are Maheshwar and Burhanpur. When you visit Bhopal, do not forget to go to the Emporium where you will find a display of the famous Bhopal 'zari' work. You can purchase a 'zari' hand-bag or Batuwa for a very modest price. It makes a fine present. Ladies are specially fond of the Batuwa which serves as a vanity-bag. You will also find beautiful carpet slippers with zari designs—another piece of Bhopal workmanship. Other famous products of Madhya Pradesh include the miniature leather toys prepared at Indore. You should see a toy-cub or a pair of charging bullocks to believe how life-like they are. In a number of centres, in what were once Indian States, there are people whose family trade has been printing and dyeing of cloth. With the help of the State Government, they have now begun to introduce modern designs also which are becoming popular. Bilaspur and Raigarh produce a very good variety of lustrous indigenous silk, known as Kosa. Mulberry silk industry is also being developed around Indore. There are a number of other local cottage industries. A new life is being given to all the traditional crafts by placing them on a modern footing and the products of Madhya Pradesh art and craft are becoming more and more popular outside. The Chanderi sarees and the zari-bordered sarees of Burhanpur and Maheshwar hold their own in the markets all over the country.



Our agriculturists find a good deal of time on hand after the agriculture season is over. They idle away this time for want of any occupation. It was this colossal loss of man-hours, which Mahatma

Gandhi thought of utilising for national good by popularising the *'Charkha'* or the spinning wheel. The *Charkha* had become the symbol of our national re-generation, of the rebirth of our home industries and of the spirit of self-help. The Dacca *'mulmul'* was once the dread of English textile mill-owners who found it hard to compete with. Our workmen are, indeed, gifted in many ways and given the opportunity, can compete easily with the best. Small-scale industries occupy a vital place in Indian economy. While the large-scale industries produce wealth from raw material, the small-scale industries will take the wealth and cheer to the humble cottages in lacs of villages. Mere production of wealth is not enough; it should be distributed and everyone should benefit from it. For, the most important thing is the happiness of the common man and not merely of a select few. That is the meaning of a Socialist Welfare State, which, we are trying to make India. That was also the dream of Gandhiji's *Ram Rajya.*

6

$\frac{\text{Resources}}{\text{Needs}}$ = Plan

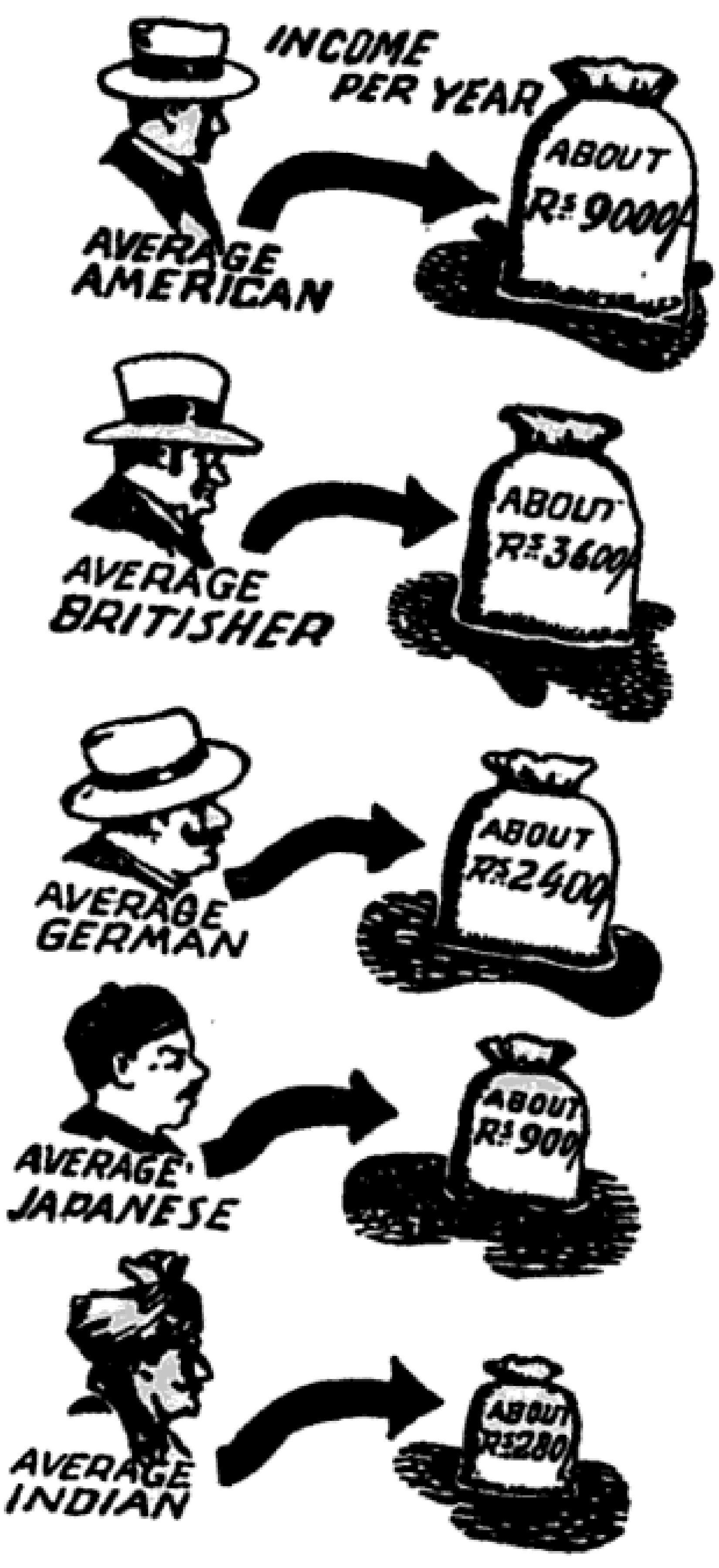
How are we to proceed to build up such a Welfare State? A Welfare State, as you can imagine, is a State in which the well-being of the people will be ensured. The essential needs of the common man will be provided. A man needs food, clothing, housing, minimum education, care of his health and opportunity to work for his livelihood. In the Welfare State we are building up, the aim is to provide all these to every citizen. Equal opportunities will be found for each to develop according to his or her aptitudes. The essential needs having thus been fulfilled, everyone will have time to improve himself and contribute to the over-all development of the society. This is the ultimate goal towards which we are working. But, this is not an easy process. England has been able to extend the benefits of a Welfare State to her citizens now after over two centuries of industrialisation. Before, however, the benefits and distributed, there should be something to distribute. A Socialist Welfare State can really be created, when the country produces enough wealth for equitable distribution to all: you cannot distribute poverty!



The advanced countries of the West have achieved this by harnessing their men and material and raising the standard of their people. That is how they are on top of the world's nations. You must have heard about the little mountainous country of Switzerland. It has a population of about 4.7 lacs equal to four of our districts. The country is not rich in natural resources and for a major part of the year, is covered by thick layers of snow. But, that does not matter to the Swiss. The Swiss are a talented people, with a great determination to raise their country. What they have done is to turn their difficulties into their advantages. You will see that snow is the only raw material available in abundance in Switzerland. The Swiss have, therefore, turned this raw material to use. And do you know that they enjoy almost the same living standard as the richest people in the world, namely the Americans? This is no small thing. The Swiss call their snow 'white coal' and have made it the main source of their energy and power. In the summer, when snow melts, it bursts forth into a thousand streamlets rushing down the mountains. These streamlets are canalised through small drains running into bigger drains and channels across the towns and villages. The speed of running water in these channels is utilised almost in every home to turn small wheels. The turning of the wheels gives electricity almost for nothing. This is the secret of Switzerland's success and prosperity. You surely know about the famous Swiss watches. These watches are sold all over the world and bring to Switzerland crores of rupees. Every home in Switzerland is a workshop. The people are skilled, hard working and disciplined. They have their own machines and the little wheel outside gives them the electricity which runs these machines. Parts of the watches are prepared in these homes and later assembled by bigger trading firms for competing in world markets.

Switzerland is also a country known for its beautiful Nature. The Swiss have taken advantage of this too and made their country a heaven for the tourists. They keep their little country spotlessly clean and dressed up like a drawing-room. Tourists from all pats of the world pour in there during holidays and enjoy the country's glorious Nature. They spend crores of rupees visiting places. The money naturally goes into Swiss hands. You will thus see what a country can make of whatever Nature gives to it, by wisely utilising its resources.

There is no dearth of resources in India. Taking our own State we have almost everything that we may wish for. But, what is preventing us from making any advance and making our life prosperous and happy? What a whole country earns is known as its national income. Divide the national income by the number of people in the country and you get the income per capita. Now, if we compare the per capita income in India with that in other countries, we shall only have to feel ashamed. While an average American earns about Rs. 9,000 per year, a Britisher about Rs. 3,6000, a German about Rs. 2,400, a Japanese about Rs. 900, we, in India, earn only about Rs. 280 per year. Nature has given everything to us, but we make no use of Nature's gifts. The result is, our people have no proper houses to live, no clothes to put on—not even enough food for themselves and their children. The villages have no roads, schools or hospitals. While in other countries people live up to the age of sixty and above, perhaps, you do not know, our average life-span is only thirty-six years. Most of our children grow sickly, uneducated and untrained—only so much burden to the society. The increasing population every year means that there are more people to share the



country's little produce and to make it poorer. It has, indeed, resulted in food-shortage which has become the country's problem No. 1. These are the problems of what is known an under-developed country—a country which has not developed its resources and turned them into wealth.

What are we to do about all these? This was the question faced by our leaders when they took charge of the country after freedom. There was unrest and crores of refugees were pouring in. With heroic efforts, the situation was controlled and the refugees resettled. We had, however, another problem—the problem of food shortage, which was more deep-rooted. We had to import from abroad food grains at high prices to meet our daily requirements. It meant that the money we saved for purchasing heavy machines to develop the country, was being swallowed up. It also meant that if conditions remained the same, our future progress would be blocked for all time. the leaders sat down to think and decided that the country needed a plan—a plan to develop, a plan to go forward. They saw that the country had so much of Nature's free gifts in the form of raw materials. There was plenty of rich and fertile land which could be made still more fertile. Many many acres remained uncultivated. These could be brought under the plough. There were huge rivers whose water ran off to waste into the seas. This could be utilised for irrigating our fields and producing electricity. There were large mineral deposits in many parts of the country. These could be taken out and wealth produced from them. Above all, we had a huge population. A country's most valuable asset, it is said, is its people. After all, what is a country? As Shri Nehru says—not its bricks or mortar, but its people. So, with a vast man-power like ours, if we could properly train it to use our resources and mobilise it, there is nothing we would not be able to achieve. If our boys and girls were made into scientists, engineers and technologists and if they worked together for the welfare of the country—to make it rich and prosperous—all our hidden wealth would blossom forth and our poverty and helplessness gone. The Plan only means this. It takes stock of the country's resources—material and human, finds the country's needs—immediate and less immediate, short-term and long-term and devises a method, according to which, the men and material would be utilised, in the best possible manner for the first

needs first. We are in an era of limitless possibilities. Man is about to discover the great secrets of Nature. Reaching for the moon is no longer to be laughed away. The space is being explored. It is now possible to move mountains, to change the course of rivers, to make the deserts bloom. Science has given to man the power to wipe out from the world misery, ill-health, poverty and want. We should only know how to use it for the good, and not destruction, of mankind.

The National Government, therefore, set up a Planning Commission of wise men and experts. The Prime Minister, Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru was himself its Chairman. This Commission surveyed the entire conditions of our resources and needs and worked out an all-round scheme of development. This was known as the First Five-Year Plan and launched in 1951. It touched almost all aspects of our life, but mainly attempted first to solve the problem of.food.

Within the five-year period of the Plan, 2356 crores of rupees were to be spent in the county for its development and for increasing production of food grains. According to this Plan, a number of river valley projects, such as, the Bhakra Nangal, the Damodar Valley, the Hirakud and in our own State, the Chambal Multi-purpose Project, were to be constructed. These huge projects, some of which are now being completed, hold the running water of great rivers into big lakes. They are known as Multi-purpose Projects, because they serve many purposes. They prevent floods, irrigate the fields, create electricity and serve as navigation channels for trade and commerce. They also provide beautiful scenic spots for the tourists. These are mighty projects of which we can justly be proud. The Bhakra Nagal alone will generate 6.04 lakh k.w. of electricity and irrigate 3.6 million acres of land, restoring to the Punjab its old glory as the granary of India. Three thousand miles of its canals will reach up to the deserts of Rajasthan and water its thirsty land. Its power-houses are already lighting Delhi. In the south, is the Tungabhadra river Valley Project. The Damodar Valley Project in Bengal Bihar borders is taming the turbulent river and developing the basin as a whole. In our own State, is the Chambal Multi-purpose Project. The Hirakud Dam across the Mahandadi in Orissa, just about 20 miles from our eastern borders, is the longest dam and creates a lake 250 sq. miles. In Western India, is the Koyna Project. In all, thus over 200

irrigation projects including about a dozen big multi-purpose projects were started in the First Plan.

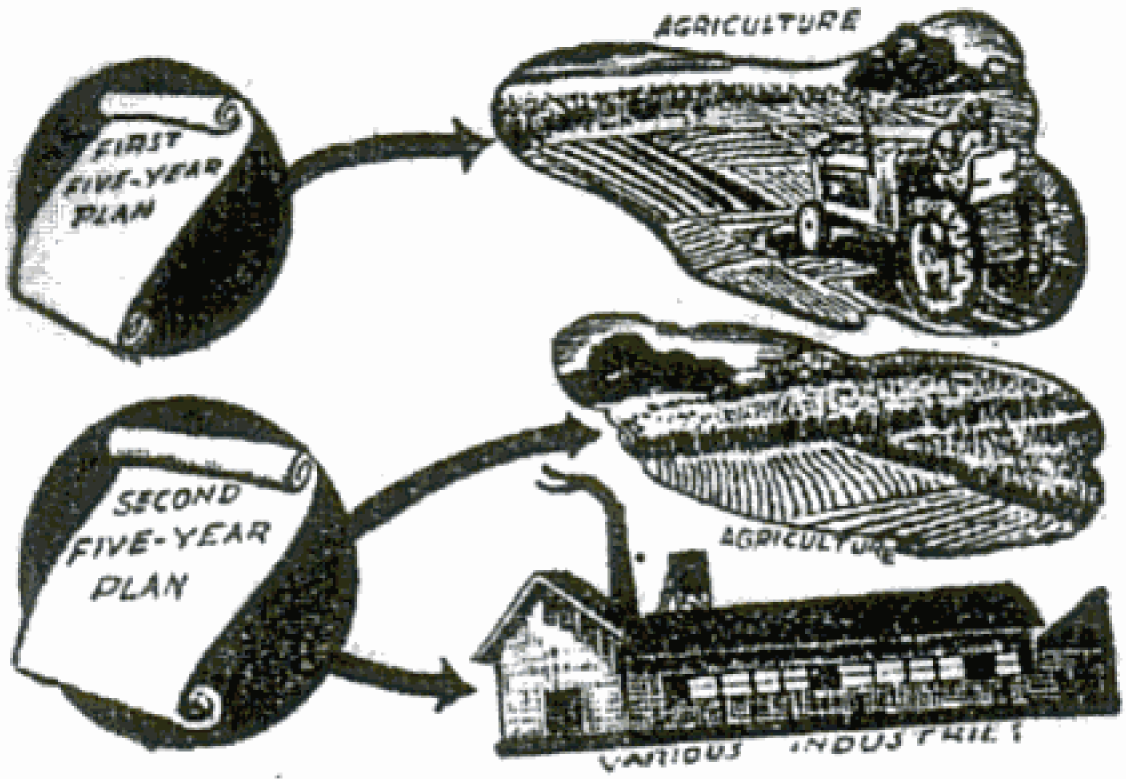
These are already changing the face of India. One must go and see them to believe what is happening to the country. Shri Nehru calls them our new places of pilgrimage—our new temples.

There were, besides, a number of other schemes under the Plan aimed at improving our agriculture and stepping up food-production from every acre of land. A huge fetilizer factory was set up at Sindri in Bihar to provide to our hungry land its much-needed fertilizer salt. The main object was that the country's food requirements may be met in the country itself and our foreign exchange may be saved for development. The people were invited to take part in this national programme through the Community Development Schemes. Large areas of land were brought under cultivation by tractor-ploughing. Good seeds and good implements were given to the farmers and they were encouraged through liberal assistance to raise more and better food crops from their land. Thus, at last, the immediate challenge of food-shortage was met. Foundations of a new India were also being laid. This was a great surprise to the whole world, but it proved to ourselves what we could do.

In the First Plan, a number of research laboratories were also set up. Some important industrial projects, like the Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory near Calcutta, Perambur Coach Factory near Madras, Machine Tools Factory, Hindustan Aircrafts and Telephone Factory at Bangalore, Hindustan Cables Factory in Bengal and some other factories were also established. These are big works in themselves. The Chittaranjan produces in India the entire railway engine. Its capacity has been increased to produce one engine everyday. It is an achievement, of which we can justly be proud.

The Second Plan emerged from the First. There will be more such Plans until we have properly utilised our resources and raised the living standard of our people. In the Second Plan, it was decided that the country must build up its industries which would be the real foundation of a lasting prosperity. It planned the increase of our steel output, of coal production, of transport, shipping, electrification and exploitation of mineral wealth, besides, of course, agricultural development.

For the Second Plan, the country will find in the course of five years a sum of Rs. 4800 crores from savings, from loans, from taxes and from help from abroad. The main objectives of the Second Plan



are rapid industrialisation, increase in national income more employment and reduction of inequalities. The First Plan was an agricultural Plan. But, although there is a greater emphasis on industry in the Second Plan, food-production continues to occupy the same importance as before, for, we cannot forget that as we go on improving and creating more wealth, every year about 60 lakh mouths are added. We must provide for them too.

While the Second Plan is still in progress, preparations for a bigger Third Plan have already begun. This will take the country still further.

Now we know, how we are proceeding through the Plan to prosperity and by distributing the fruits of prosperity, to a Welfare State.

7

A People's Movement

So much about the whole country's Plans. But the Plan is made up of the Central and the State Plans taken together. Do you know, what actually the First Plan was and the Second Plan is like in our State? The First Plan was started in 1951 when the new Madhya Pradesh was not in the picture. Its four constituent units had their own projects and were working on them. In all, about Rs. 83 crores were provided to be spent over the schemes in the four units. By now, you know about the Chambal river Project, the Nepa Mills and the Bhilai Steel Plant. Near Nagpur, there was the big Khaparkheda Thermal power station which supplied light and power from Akola to Chhindwara. This station is now in Bombay State. The news-print mill at Nepa Negar was also project in the First Plan. Then, there were the big irrigation tanks like Aree, Dukrikheda and Sampna near Seoni, Piparia and Betul respectively. These and a number of other schemes of roads, bridges and Community Development programme were included in the Plan. Some of these were completed and others continued in the Second Plan.

The projects in the Second Plan of Madhya Pradesh, will be completed at a cost of about Rs. 191 crores in the five-year period from 1956 to 61. We will, besides, have a Heavy Electrical Goods Factory at a total cost of about Rs. 72 crores to be erected by the Government of India in an area of ten sq. miles near Bhopal.

The huge Bhilai Steel Plant being built by the Government of India with Russian help at a cost of about Rs. 131 crores is, as you know, also in Madhya Pradesh. The size of the Steel Plant can be imagined from the fact that to remove the earth dug out for its foundation, about 3,40.000 wagons would be necessary--so many, that if they were to be put together, they would make one long train

from Bombay to Calcutta. The Plant will need everyday 5,100 tons of coal, 5,300 tons of iron ore, 2,400 tons of limestone and 550 tons of other ingredients. It will produce enough steel in a year to prepare 11000 railway locomotives or 21,300 railways wagons or 77,000 tractors. With the starting of the Bhilai Steel Project, a number of subsidiary industries will grow round about the area and thousands will find employment. On 24th December 1959, the Project started producing Steel Billets for the market.

The Rs. 20-crore Tawa Multi-purpose Project is another major project of Madhya Pradesh undertaken in the Second Plan. It will have, near Itarsi, a dam on the Tawa river, which is a big tributary of the Narabada. When completed, the Tawa Project will irrigate about 7.5 lakh acres of land and give us about 13,000 k.w. of electricity.

Construction of the huge Chambal Project was started in the First Plan and is being carried over now. It is a project to be completed in three stages. The first stage is estimated to cost about Rs. 63 crores. The Chambal, flowing along the northern boundaries of Madhya Pradesh south and north, meets the Jamuna. Where the dam is being put across the river, there are steep rocky banks on two sides and a narrow gorge is created. The main dam at Chambal which will be known as Gandhi Sagar Dam will be the world's cheapest man-made lake, for, here the gorge created by the narrow banks provides a natural dam site. The dam will be 204 feet high and the water impounded will create a lake 266 sq. miles in area. There will be, in all, three dams, two more in Rajasthan and one barrage near Kotah. There will be one power-station at each dam. The Project is a joint scheme of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan Governments who will share the costs and benefits equally. The Project will produce a total of 2.10 lakh k.w. of electricity. The water stores in the dams will irrigate through two main canals a total of 14 lakh acres of land. This will also benefit the dacoit-infested districts of Bhind and Morena. It will indeed strike at the roots of the dacoity-problem, to some extent, by removing poverty and want.

Can you imagine canals running like roads across rivers and nullahs? That has been possible in the Chambal Project. Along its 200-mile course, the concrete right bank canal crosses at many places big rivers like the Kali Sindh, Kunu and Parvati, where it takes the shape of over-head channels or closed pipes. Across the

Kunu river, the canal has been closed into huge pre-stressed concrete pipes, known as aqueducts, as large as 20 ft. in diameter and over 6,000 feet in length. A road is laid over the aqueduct which also serves as a bridge across the river. You can imagine what a wonderful thing it should be! It is the only one of its type in India.

To see the shape of the Plan and know the throb of India's regeneration, you must see the feverish activity being carried by thousands of people day and night in the two projects of Bhilai and Chambal. They are our pride-one in the south and the other in the north. In fact, they have become symbols of the new rising Madhya Pradesh.

The state's irrigation projects, together with the medium and smaller irrigation tanks, will irrigate in all another 7 lakhs acres. The electrification schemes in the State's Second Plan will raise the capacity by 2.57 lakh k.w. Other schemes include laying of roads-3731 miles long, establishing of a number of industries, impressive programmes of educational expansion, increased facilities for technical education and numerous other social services, including Adivasi welfare.

Incidentally, you should know that the Plan has two main sectors—the Production Sector and the Social Service Sector. The Production Sector includes those schemes which will, on completion, immediately start producing wealth, such as the river valley projects the steel plants and the electrification and mining schemes. These occupy a priority, for, as you know by now, to build a Welfare State, it is necessary to create wealth before its fruits can be distributed to the people. At the same time, however, it is necessary, side by side, to train the people spread education, bring forward the backward sections and establish hospitals and medical services to prevent diseases and raise the general efficiency of the people. For, the object of all our Plans is to improve the lot of the common man.

In Madhya Pradesh, a good part of our population consists of simple, loveable Adivasis who live in the forests of Bastar, Raigrah, Surguja, Betul, Chhindwara, Durg, Shahdol, Mandla, Jhabua, Morena, Sidhi and Rewa districts. They have, for ages, been cut off from the main-stream of civilisation. The Adivasis are said to be the

original inhabitants of India. In the struggle among civilisations, they were pressed back to the forests and were left behind in the march of time. Some of them are still in the primitive stage of development. They follow tribal laws and live a very simple life. They have many fine qualities, such as, of honesty and unselfishness. But, they are poor and ignorant about many fine qualities, such as, of honesty and unselfishness. But, they are poor and ignorant about many things of the modern age. Their way of life provides a very interesting study into how the society passed through its various stages of development to civilisation. Those who study the various primitive tribes and races, their customs and characteristics, are known as anthropologists. This knowledge is very valuable in the study of man and society. Madhya Pradesh is of great interest to anthropologists. We have some of the most primitive tribes in the State. In Bastar district, there is a forest-covered mountainous area, known as 'Abujh Mar' or the 'unknowing mountains' where not many outsiders have set foot. The people here are known as Madias and live in a semi-naked state. They are a well-built and cheerful people. Dance, to them, is part of their life. At the slightest provocation, they would put on their bison-horn headgear, sling their huge drums and dance on and on to the beat of the drum, through a whole night.

Similarly, in Chhindwara district, within the deep Tamia Valley, there is a huge depression of land where live some of the primitive Adivasis. Once in a while, they climb up to the plan is with the help of tree-roots and go to a nearby bazar to purchase salt or similar other articles.

There are, in all, 43 or 44 known tribes in Madhya Pradesh, who live in their strange and fascinating ways. They make a good portion of our population. Attempts are being made to raise their economic condition and bring them in line with other advanced sections without destroying their good points.

The benefits of development have to be taken to them and opportunities provided to develop themselves. Large help is given to them in agriculture and cattle-breeding, in settling villages, in educating their children and in bringing to them medical facilities. A good number among them practise, what is known as shifting



cultivation. They do not settle down at one place, nor do they use any ploughs. A piece of forest land is cleared by setting fire to the shrubs and trees. Later, they scatter seeds on the land and reap the harvest. They continue this for another two or three years and move on to a new forest block. This is not a good method, for, it not only destroys valuable forests, but also makes very poor agriculture. The Adivasis are being induced to settle down and plough their fields and see that the earth gives them their needs.

The Adivasis are now full citizens of free India and have an equal right in the affairs of the country. They are our brothers. They had been neglected for long. It is our duty to understand them with sympathy and to help them in every possible way. We have also many things to learn from their honest, simple and vigorous life.

There are similar welfare schemes for the Harijans, labourers and those who are handicapped by Nature and are invalid, These schemes are included in the Social Service Sector of the Plan. This indeed, is the ultimate goal of a Welfare State and as the resources of the country are developed and wealth increases, more and more will be spent on Social Services. The Government which is composed of people's representatives, will, thus become in a true sense, an instrument for the welfare and progress of the people.

By October 1963, the whole State is expected to be covered by 416 National Extension Service Blocks. On the 2nd October, 1952, Gandhi Jayanti Day, 55 Community Development Blocks were opened on an experimental basis in different parts of India. Perhaps, you may ask what these blocks are? In fact, extenstion service only means extending to the farm the result of the laboratory. This means improvement of our living standards by applying the techniques given by science. This has been recognised as the only answer to the problems of under-developed countries.

Under this programme, groups of about 100 to 300 villages are taken for intensive development for a period of 5 years. It is

commonly known as a Development Block. Twelve lac rupees are spent in the area and a number of schemes which seek to develop the villages and raise food-production through improved scientific methods, are introduced. After the intensive phase, the Block enters the post-intensive phase for another five years. The people intensive phase for another five years. The people are invited to participate. If they work free of cost and thus contribute their labour, the Government generally gives an equal amount. If a village, Panchayat decides to have a road in the village, what it has to do is to provide either free labour or material or raise money by contributing towards the cost of construction. The Government will give its share and arrange technical help. The road is thus constructed.

Community Development Programme is thus an agency to fufil the Plan. It is also a method. It makes possible the completion of the Plan with popular cooperation and by involving the whole community. This is very important. Each one of us is there only as a member of the society to which one belongs. We cannot live outside the society. Therefore, if we think of the good of the whole society, we also thereby think of our own good. This was the way shown by Gandhiji. He asked each one only to think of one's duties and not of rights. If everyone thought of his duties only, everything would be running smoothly. This is also the spirit of the cooperative method by which alone our Plan can become a success. For, in India, we have a democratic Government. The State is run by the consent of the people and not by the orders of a superior authority, such as a monarch or a dictator. The Plan has, therefore, to be implemented with people's willing help. This is the chief quality of India's Plan. It is, in fact, a movement where people of their own accord, cooperate in fulfilling their part in the Plan. This is best seen in the Community Development Block.

Community Development is above all a programme for the development of the villages. India, as Gandhiji said, lives in her villages. Indeed, 83 of every 100 people live in them. It is, therefore, clear that India cannot make any progress unless the villages are taken forward. Community Development aims at improving the villages by mobilising the people and by arousing in them a desire for their own improvement. This scheme has made the Plan really a

people's Plan. For, in a country which is poor but self-respecting and is determined to rise on her own feet without looking to others, her



best resources are her man-power. You may have heard of the banks where large sums of money are deposited; today, we talk of man-power banks also. The idea is to get the best out of every man and



woman for the good of the country. We have a huge population and if each person contributes even a fraction, the total contribution can

be enormous, and the country's poverty and misery can be wiped away by our own efforts. This is what Nehruji means when he calls upon the people to join in the 'grand enterprise of re-building a new India'. For, that is what the Plan is doing. It cannot be a success without the people's help. This help can come from all sections of people in all forms. The rich may give money, the poor may give labour, the intelligent may give ideas, the educated may spread knowledge, the kisan may produce more, the labourer may work harder, the woman may save food in the kitchen and the young may give free labour—*Shramadan,* in spare time. The least that every citizen can do to help the Plan is to understand and entertain a good thought about it. That would be his moral support and will remove many an obstruction in its way indirectly. He could also help nursing resources by Small Savings every month. This is how people can make their contribution. This exactly is what is meant by people's participation.

The Plan is the only way through which we can build our prosperity. It is a life-and-death battle for us. If we succeed, we can make India happy and ready to meet the challenge of the future. There is no reason, why we should fail. We are now the masters of our country and our own destiny. We have all its resources of land, water, forests and minerals at our disposal. We can shape the country as we like before our very eyes. The Plan offers the opportunity, as the phrase goes, on a silver platter.

8

All Our Cherished Dreams

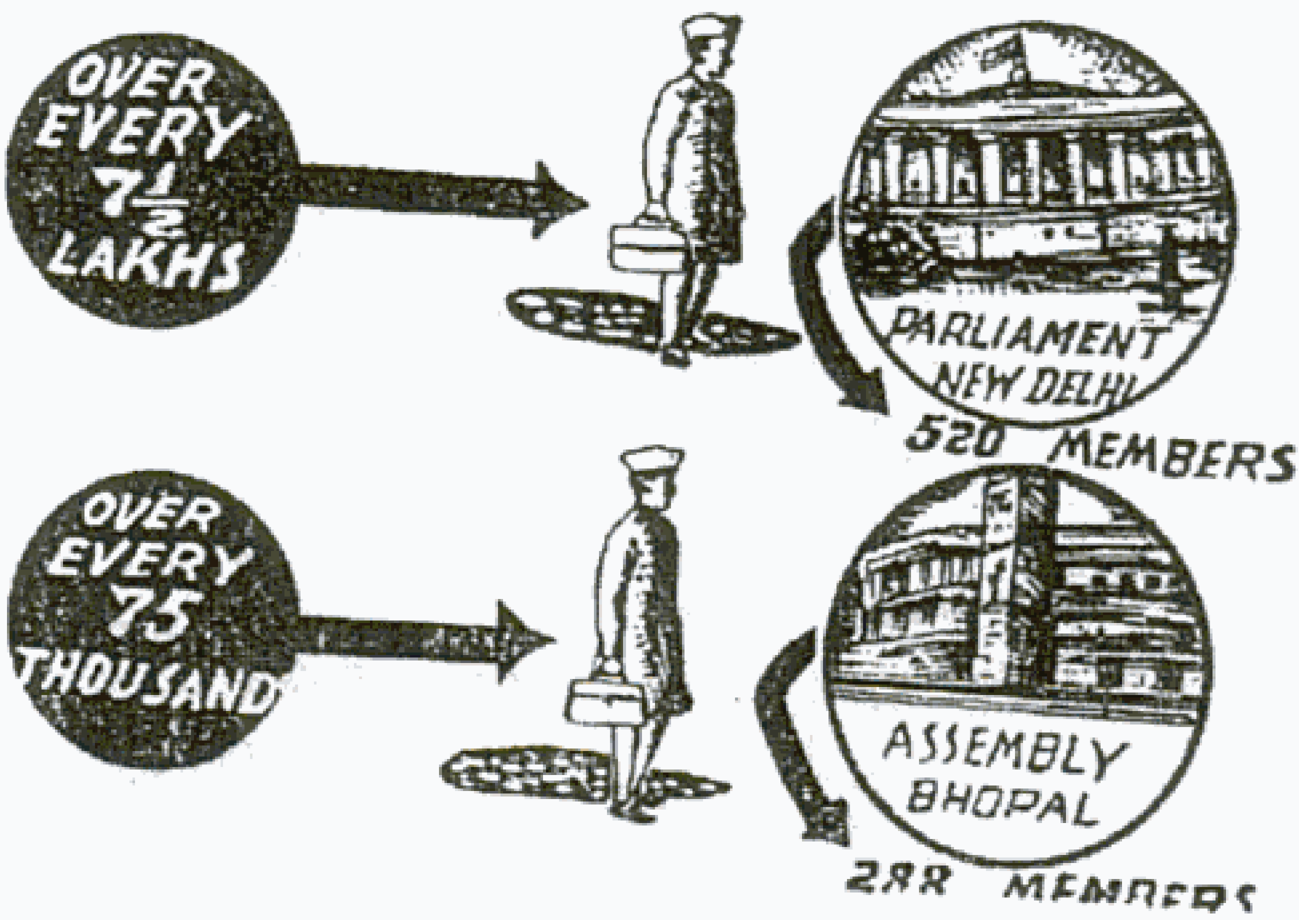
By now, you know that the Plan is a programme for production of more wealth and its proper distribution. Its object is to raise the earnings of the individual and at the same time to reduce inequalities. This is, indeed, the goal set by our Constitution which says that every citizen will have freedom and equality as his fundamental rights. The Constitution also directs that the States should see that social and economic justice is done to all. This means, that in India, no longer will a condition be allowed, in which one person rolls in luxury, while the many have to go even without the bare necessities of life. It means that every citizen will get equal opportunities to develop himself as best as possible, for, whatever the country has to offer belongs to all, who make the country.

You will ask what the Constitution is. In fact, you know about it in one way or another. If you come from a village, you almost certainly know your *Sarpanch* and you also know what the *Gram Panchayat* does. You surely know about the general elections that are held every fifth year for electing representatives from each area for the Assembly at Bhopal and the Parliament at Delhi. You also know about the Governor of the State, the Chief Minister, and about the President of India and the Prime Minister. It is according to the Constitution, that there are the President and the Prime Minister, the Parliament and the Ministry of the Central Government. It is according to the Constitution, that there are Governors, Ministries and Assemblies in the States. The Municipalities and the *Gram Panchayats* are all within the Constitution only. The Constitution is the highest law of the land. When India became free, representatives were elected from every area, who met at Delhi and formed the Constituent Assembly. This Assembly met from day-to-day for about two years and discussed how the affairs of the country should

be run. These decisions were recorded in a Constitution, according to which the whole country—from Delhi to Bhopal in our State and to every village—is administered. Anything that goes against the Constitution is not permitted.

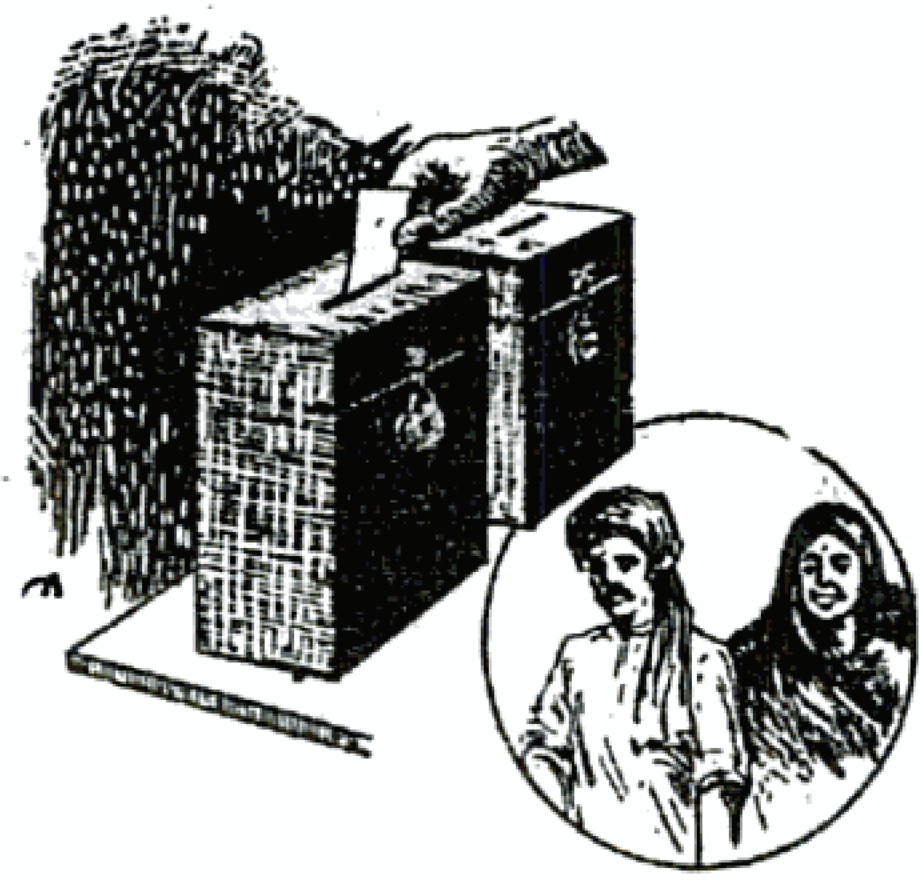
The Constitution came into force on the 26th January, 1950. It is a big document with 397 Articles and nine Schedules. It clearly defines the powers and responsibilities of the Central Government and the State Governments and the functions of and relationship between the three wings of administration, namely, the Legislative, Executive and the Judiciary. The Constitution lays down that India shall be Sovereign Democratic Republic. This means that there will be no Rajas, Maharajas or Kings to rule over the people; instead,the people will rule themselves through their representatives. You already know how the Constitution was made according to the consent of the people. This is the essence of democracy.

It is now through the Parliament, State Assemblies, District Bodies and *Gram Panchayats,* that the representatives of the people make laws and regulations according to which the administration of the country is carried on. Every fifth year, when the election takes



place. one member is elected to represent 7 lakhs of people for the Parliament at Delhi and one member to represent 75 thousand people for the Assembly at Bhopal. The Parliament has two

Houses—the Lower, known as Lok Sabha and the Upper or the Rajya Sabha. The Lok-Sabha can have not more than 520 members and the Rajya Sabha not more than 250 members. Our State Assembly has a strength of 288. After the election is over, these



members meet at Delhi, Bhopal and in other State Assemblies and elect their leaders. The leader, who has the largest number of members on his side is invited to form the Ministry. He becomes the Prime Minister in the Centre and Chief Minister in the States. Thus, whatever is done is with the consent of our representatives in the Parliament or the Assembly. When it is considered that a Ministry is not doing its job properly, the members can vote against it and change it. The members, are themselves elected with the votes of the people. Every man or woman who is 21 years of age or above, can give his vote to whomsoever he or she likes. The vote is given by ballot or secretly, so that no one can interfere with the voter's free choice. Thus, the Ministry ultimately depends upon the votes of the people. If the people do not like a Ministry, they vote it out in the next election by giving their votes to members belonging to some other party. This is how parliamentary democracy works.

In ancient India, almost every village had a *Gram Panchayat* of its own. The village people sat together in the village '*Chaupal*' and decided about all matters concerning the village. Their decision was accepted as law, for, it was the voice of the people. The *Panchas*



were *Pancha Parmeshwar'*—the highest court before which no one could speak a lie or which no one could defy. When the British came, slowly, this institution died away and the voice of the people was stifled. In Gandhiji's concept of *Ram Rajya*, the *Gram Panchayats* have a pivotal place and are to guide the affairs of lakhs of our villages by discussion and common consent.

In Madhya Pradesh, we have about 70,000 villages. At present, there are about 14,600 *Gram Panchayats* and 1900 *Nyaya Panchayats* in villages. You must have seen a bullock-cart or a cycle wheel. It has number of spokes which flow from the hub. The *Gram Panchayat* has to become like the hub from which all activities in the village would flow. It is the *Gram Panchayat* which will look after the sanitation of the village, maintain its roads,wells, etc. and generally guide its day-to-day affairs. It will be the main instrument for fulfilling the development programmes in the village. If a road is needed or a well to be dug or a tank to be deepened, it will take up the matter with the development authorities. The Public Works Department overseer will make out rough calculations and say how much expenditure will be involved in the scheme. Now, the *Gram Panchayat* will meet a part of this either through organising free labour, or raising small contributions. With the efforts of the *Gram*

Panchayat, some young villagers will work for the scheme on their own and without any wages, the well-to do kisan will give some cash donation or lend his bullock-cart for transport of material or offer stones from his quarry. This will be people's contribution. Government will then take the scheme in hand, give its share of money, put its engineers on the job and complete the work. The *Gram Panchayat* has to grow into the main community forum of the village. If it functions effectively, it will be able to look after the welfare of the village and take advantage of the Government's many development programmes. If each village can thus look after itself, the whole country will make big strides in no time, for, as you know, it is our villages which make India.

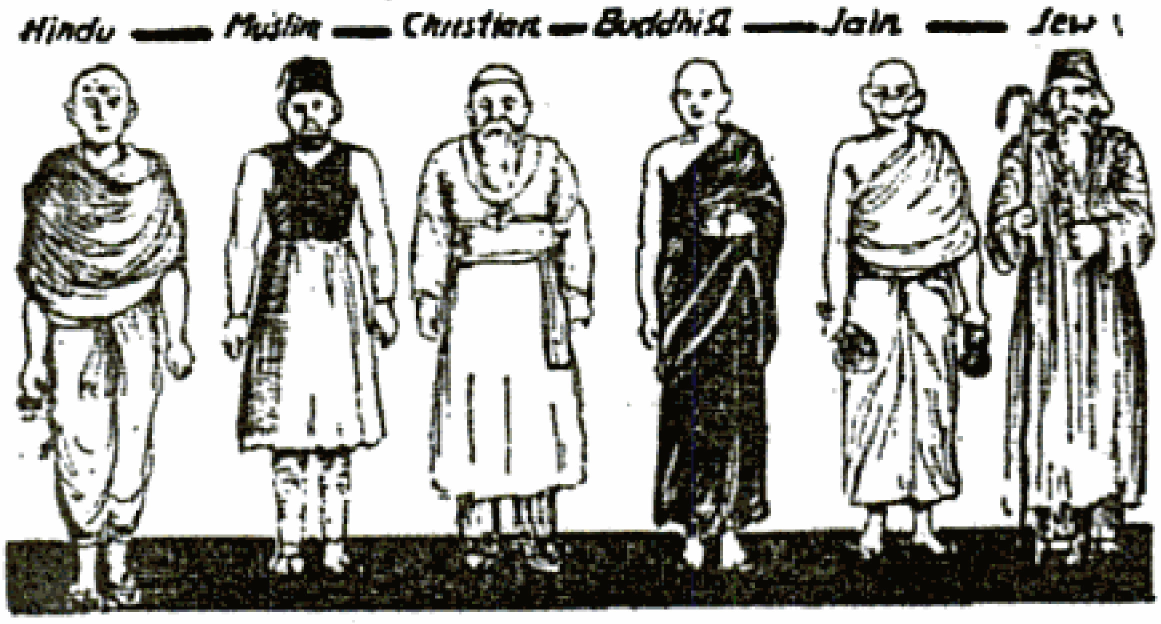
At the district level, we have different systems prevailing in different units. There were Janapadas in former Madhya Pradesh and Mandal Panchayats in former Madhya Bharat. These are being brought to an uniform pattern.

In the towns, there are municipalities, of which we have 184. There are Corporations in the three big cities of Indore, Jabalpur and Gwalior.

At the State level, you know, we have an Assembly of 288 members. The members include a number of women and representatives of our large Adivasi population.

There are many other forms of Government, but by long experience and trial through the ups and downs of history, people have found that democracy is the best of them all. Democracy gives to every person the individual freedom, which is his inherent right. What good is all the wealth of the world, if one has no freedom of choice? In democracy, the dignity of every individual is recognised. It offers everyone the opportunity to develop himself as best as he can, according to his wishes. Our long battle of *Swaraj* was fought only to achieve this end. Democracy makes us the masters of our own fate. In England, the people carried a long struggle against despotic kings to obtain for the people their rights. Our constitution guarantees us these as fundamental rights. The Constitution has also laid down a number of broad Directive Principles according to which the State policies should be carried out.

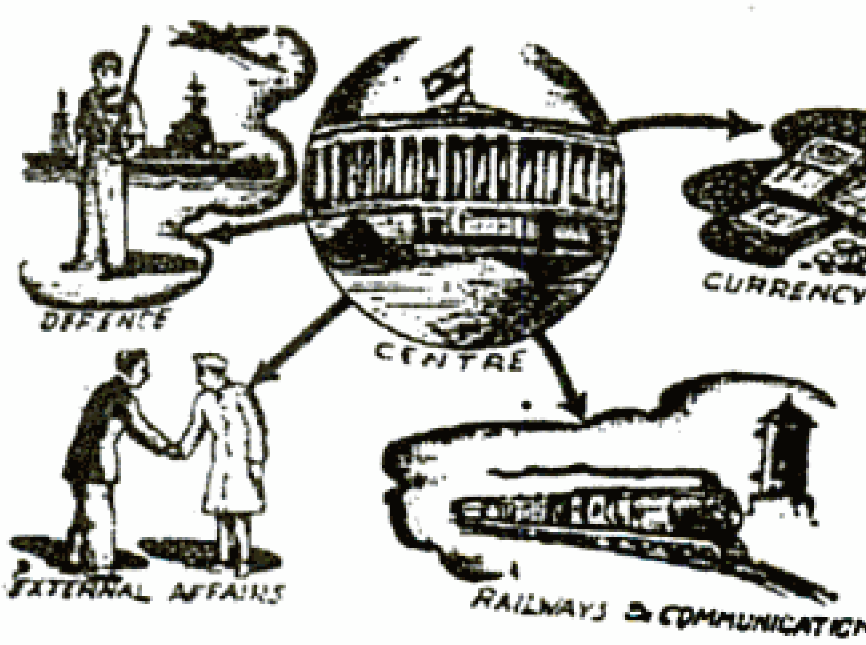
You can now understand the exact content of a Democratic Republic, which India is, as laid down by the Constitution. It is also Sovereign, because it derives its powers not from outside, but from



her people who weild the real sanction. In all her affairs, now, the wishes of the people are supreme. From Delhi to the State and from the State to the districts and villages, the whole country is being administered with the consent and according to the wishes of the people only. The ultimate power lies with the people in the form of their votes. They are the true masters of the country now.

The Constitution also says that India will be a secular State. This means that no one religion will be given preference over the other. One will have the right to follow one's religion freely without interfering with another's similar right.

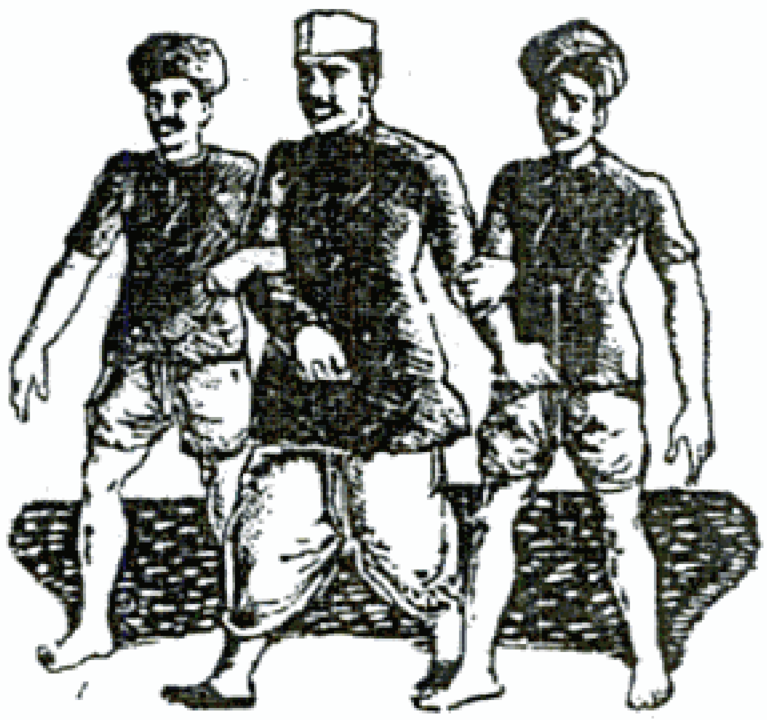
According to the Constitution again, India is a federation. This means that power has been distributed between the Centre and the



State. The Centre administers some subjects, such as, Defence, External Affairs, Railways, Currency, etc., while the States, within their own areas, administer some other subjects, such as, Agriculture, Education and Health.

In a vast country, such a ours, this arrangement enables speedier and more direct administration in matters of day-to-day concern to the people. It means de-centralisation of power without weakening the country.

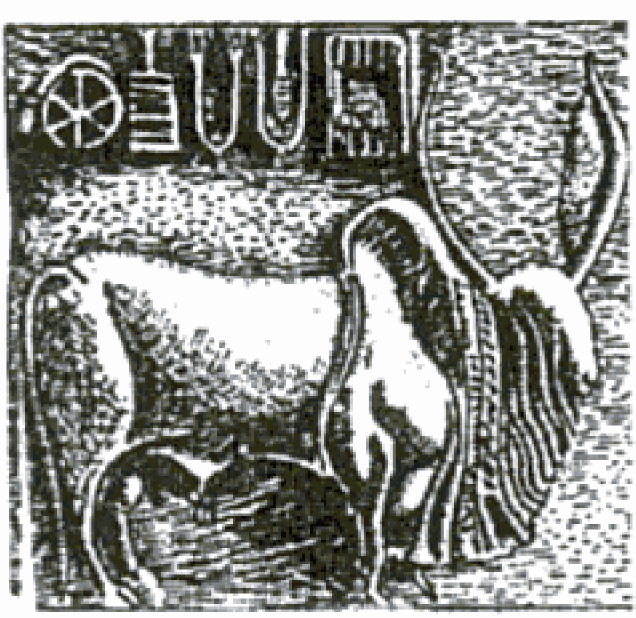
The Constitution embodies the dreams cherished all through our freedom-fight by our great leaders and millions who willingly suffered and sacrificed. We are building up an India where the distinction between the rich and the poor will be no longer, where there will be no high or low, where each will share equally in the benefits showered by the country and in the opportunities offered by her, where each will be free to follow his own path according to his light, yet each will have the privilege to work for the development of the country and the common happiness of all. Our Constitution gives us the right and opportunity to build such an India. It represents the will of the people and is also a sacred pledge.



9
The Heart of India

You are aware that our young State has been the seat of ancient kingdoms and a glorious civilisation. By now, you also know the basic facts about its present and have a vision of the promise that it holds. To know a country or a State well, it is not enough to know what it looks like today. It is necessary to know what forces or influences have been at work since the past ages, moulding the State's present. Our yesterdays shape our today and today holds the seeds of tomorrow. Let us, therefore, have a look into our State's past.

Geologically or according to the ages of rock-formation, the southern peninsula or the triangular table land below the Narbada, is the oldest land mass in India. And, you will be surprised to know, the great Himalayas are the youngest formations. The geologists tell us that, according to their estimates, mother earth was once a molten mass. This was millions of years ago. Later, it solidified into hard earth. Then came life in simple, rudimentary form, Man came on the scene very much later. For a long time, he lived in primitive conditions. Thus even the most ancient civilisation is, in this context, comparatively only young India was among the countries with an ancient civilisation. You might be knowing about the Indus Valleys excavations





of Mohenjodaro. They revealed that long before the Aryan settlers came to the Indo-Gangetic plains, a highly developed civilisation existed in the Indus Valley. The excavations brough to light full fledged townships with well-planned roads, drainage system, baths and brick houses. This civilisation is believed to date back 3500 to 5000 years ago.

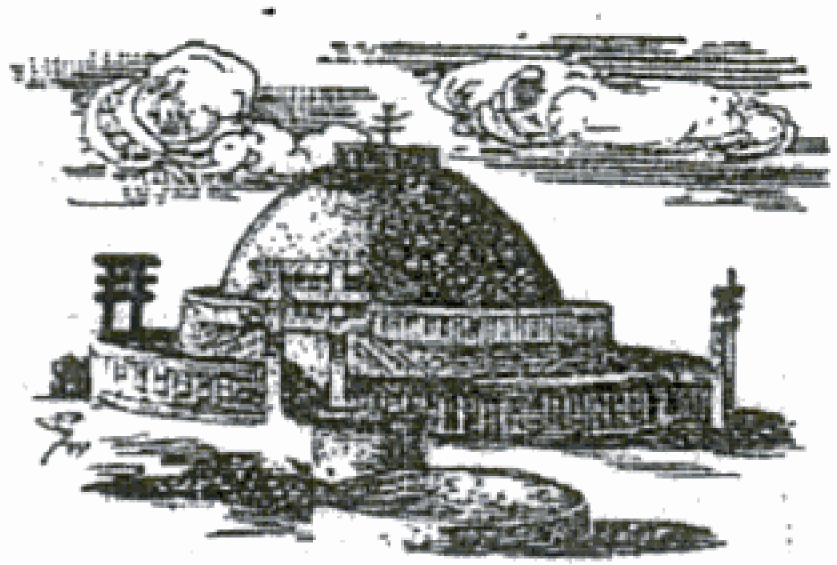
In the recent excavations along the Narbada near Maheshwar in our State, remains have been found, which indicate that this was an area where also an ancient civilisation flourished. There are people, who are al the time digging into the earth to look into past history. They are known as archaeologists. Their passion is to resurrect the past and to find the links which connect it with the present. When one era passes into another, layers of the earth close upon the former. As the archaeologists remove these layers, the story of civilisation, rising one upon another, is unfolded. It is a most absorbing story—the story of Man himself.

To know the State and its personality, we would have to dig through these layers and discover the fabric that makes the State. Let us, therefore, go on a tour of exploration.

Perhaps the best place to start from, would be the capital city itself-Bhopal, which is so centrally situated. Forty-two miles from here, is Sanchi and its Great Stupa which attracts pilgrims from far off lands. It was from here, as you know, that prince Mahendra took his leave on the mission to Ceylon to spread the gospel of love and peace of the Great Buddha. Sanchi and its surroundings were important Buddhist centres and the Great Stūpa is believed to have been built between the third to first century B. C.—about more than 2000 years ago. This is one of the oldest architectural remains, still preserved in such good condition. For a long time, this had been lost from public memory. In 1818. an English General unearthed the monuments which were



lying buried under debris. The Sanchi monuments comprise the Great Stupa and two other smaller Stupas on a hillock, about 300 feet in height. There are some temples and relics of Viharas also on the hill. Sanchi is particularly known for its four artistic gateways standing sentinels to the north, west, south and east. The sculpture and carvings on the gates represent unique examples of Buddhistic style. In delicate carvings from the Jatakas, they record in perennial stones the life of the Buddha. The carvings show the consummate skill and



the great faith of the artists. Remember, this was a record as old as 2000 years ago. It shows the state of development in the field of art and culture in that remote period. The stones had been handled with great sensitivity. The Gods, Yakshas, Apsaras, men and women, elephants, horses, deer and goats carved on the pillars—all appear lifelike. At one place is a royal procession, at another, an entire village-scene vividly depicted. The draperies in their folds look as soft as if made of cloth itself and the decorative designs are perfect. The surrounding railings or the balustrades are made of cut stones dove-tailed like wooden frames and bear the names of the many donors. There was an Ashokan pillar also standing near the south gate, but now it is in pieces.

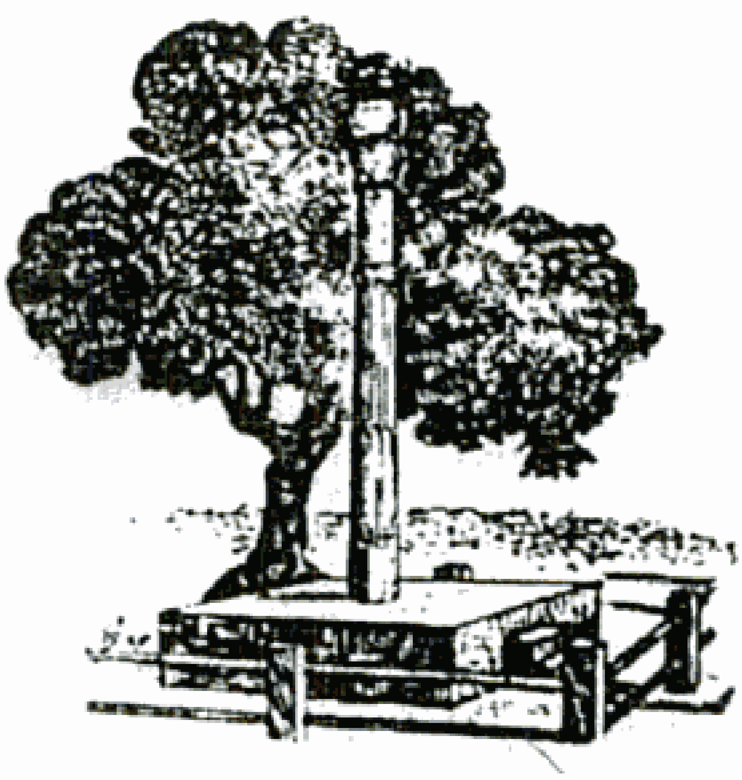


The entire hillock was sacred to the devotees. The Great Stupa which is a semi-spherical solid dome crowned by triple umbrellas, has a diameter of 120 feet and a height of 54 feet. In the third Stupa



were the relics of Buddha's two great disciples, Sariputta and Maha Moggalayana. These relics were taken out and preserved into the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. After Freedom, the relics were obtained from the Museum and after being taken on a round of Buddhist places, were ceremonially re-enshrined in 1952 in a gold replica of the Stupa, which is placed in a new Vihar built on the Sanchi hillock. About one lakh people and several kings and Heads of State were present at this great ceremony. Every year, on a given date, the relics are taken in a procession around the Stupas. Buddhist devotees from lands as distant as Mongolia, Japan, Tibet. Cambodia, Burma and Ceylon come and pay their homage to the relics. There is a motor road leading up to the hillock, and for the pilgrims going on foot, there is a separate an ancient flight of steps.

In the midst of typical Malwa greenery stretching as far as the eyes go, Sanchi stands out as a monument to the noble spirit of the Prince of Peace. A strange stillness fills the whole air here and whoever sets foot on the hallowed grounds. cannot escape the serene impact.



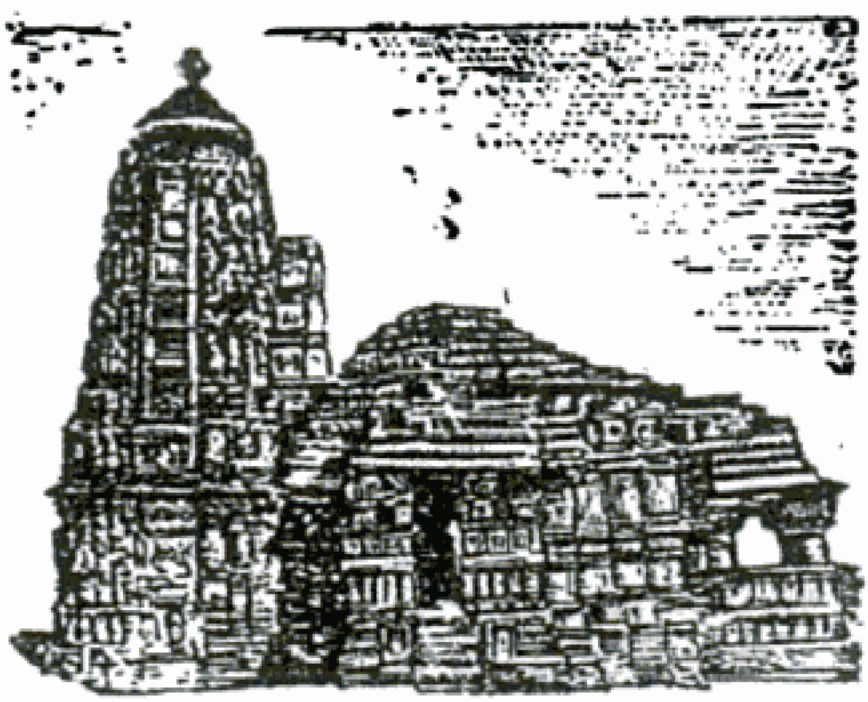
Six miles from Sanchi is Vidisha, where belonged Devi. the daughter of a rich merchant, whom Ashoka had married. Ashoka was then the Governor of Ujjayini under the Mauryas. Vidisha was a prosperous city and known for its gaiety and riches. Even Kalidas commends this fabulous city to his cloud-messenger on its route. Vidisha is no longer the same today. In

fact, its old site has also changed. But, the ruins speak of its glorious past. About two miles away near the Bes river, stands the Heliodorus pillar, set up by the Greek ambassador from Taxila in the Ist century B. C.—about 2000 years ago. This was meant as a token of his homage to the land and to mark his acceptance of the Vaishnava tenets.

Two miles to the south of the pillar are the Udayagiri caves. They are twenty in number—mostly small rock-cut chambers each with an image enshrined. These are believed to date from the 4th to 5th century A. D., the period of the Guptas. The most important cave is No. 5, where, in a vigorous relief is shown Vishnu in the form of Varaha—man with the head of the boar, rescuing earth in the form of a slender woman from out of cosmic chaos. This represents the creation of order out of chaos by God Vishnu.

Proceeding further from Vidisha, we move to Ganj Basoda for a glimpse of the beautiful Udayeshwar Temple. This is a leap by about six centuries and brings us to the Parmar period of the llth century. The temple is a noble example of craftsmanship. The Shikhar or the spire and the medallion here are well-known for their grace and beauty.

The Gupta Age was the golden period of Indian history. Its chief evidence here lies in the Udaiyagiri caves and the frescos of the Bagh caves. The Bagh caves and the frescos of the Bagh caves. The Bagh caves are the Ajantas of Madhya Pradesh. To reach these caves, we shall have to go to Indore and motor down another 94 miles via Dhar which was the capital of the illustrious Paramar king, Bhoj. There were 9 caves, but now only 4 remain. They appear to be Buddhistic viharas and the paintings are believed to date back to a period between the



5th and 7th centuries A. D.—or of about 1200 to 1400 years ago. The paintings are classed amongst the best specimens of Indian fine arts. Most of the paintings have been damaged or worn out by time. In the third cave, the Buddha is depicted



with a divine lustre radiating from his face. Other caves depict scenes from life—horsemen on the move, a dancing troupe performing or ordinary citizens in conclave. The Bagh paintings specialise in the presentation of Nature with a great feeling and realism. These paintings are a creation of devotion and patient labour extending over centuries. But nowhere, will you find the slightest indication or the name of the artists.



So also is the case with the Ajanta paintings. That shows the typical Indian approach, which kept away all thought of self-advertisement. An Indian artist regarded himself as one with the object of his creation. There was no place for the self in his devotion.

Near Indore is Ujjayini, the eternal city. It is regarded by devotees as one among the seven sacred cities of India and ranks with Kashi in its antiquity. Its Mahakaleshwar temple attracts pilgrims from all over the country. This was also the seat of the legendary king, Vikramaditya, who, with his 9 gems, held court. Vikramaditya has about him endless stories ascribing to him great prowess, nobility, charity-mindedness and super-natural gifts. Kalidas was one of the gems in this court and is believed to have written some of his immortal Sanskrit poems here. Kalidas was a great master of imagery and his poetry is known all over the world

for its incomparable charm of style, delicacy of expression, and richness of similes and metaphors. The foreigners know him as the Shakespeare of India.

After the Guptas, Malwa was under the sway of the Hun invaders. The Malwa leaders, however, gathered under the banner of Yashodharman and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Huns. This is commemorated by a pillar, still lying near Mandsaur. Then came Harshavardhan under whose supremacy nearly the whole of the State came. The passing away of Harshavardhan left these parts to various local potentates. The Pratiharas, Rashtrakutas, Paramaras, Tomaras, Chandelas, Kachhawahas and Kalchuris had established their supremacy in the various parts when the first Muslim waves appeared in the 11th century.

The Gwalior fort and the magnificient Khajuraho temples are the foremost example of this period. Let us resume our journey and take the train for Gwalior to have a look into these turbulent times. The Gwalior fort has been described as a "pearl in the necklace of the castles of India". It had played an important part in the history of Northern India. Rising on a 30-foot high rocky sandstone hill, the fort dominates the entire scene for miles. According to the popular legend, it was built by a Rajput chieftain Suraj Sen. Suraj Sen was suffering from leprosy and was very unhappy. One day, while out hunting, he reached the top of the hill and felt thirsty. He met an ascetic there, named Gwalipa.

On request the ascetic gave him water from a tank near his hut. The chieftain was immediately cured of his disease. His joy was boundless. The return gratitude, he enlarged the tank and built the fortress. Three hundred years later, the fort became a part of the Kannauj Empire. Later on, it passed variously into the hands of the Kachhawahas, Muslims, Tomaras, Moghuls, Shershah and last the Scindias. The fort is about 2 miles long and enclosed by a



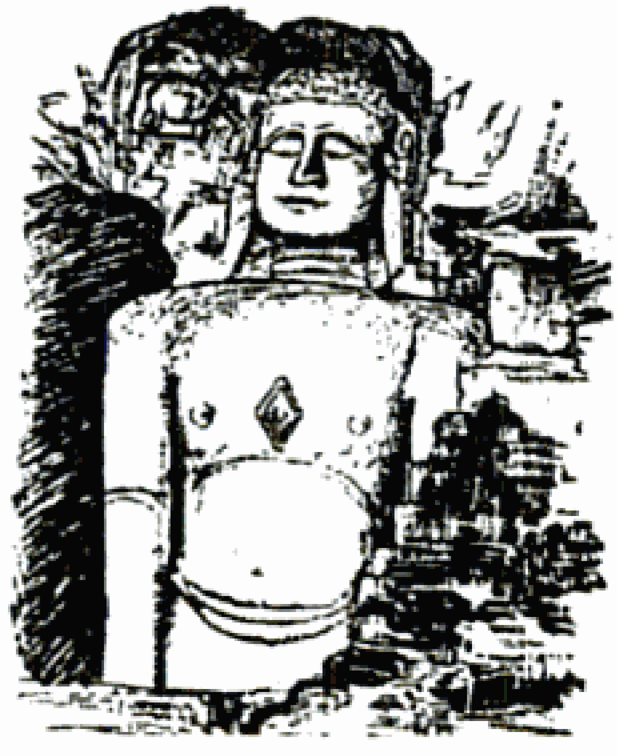
wall 30 to 35 feet high. It has five gates in all. Within the fort, there are 8 tanks, 6 palaces, 7 temples and the famous Scindia public School. The most well-known building, however, is the Man Mandir, built by Raja Man Singh Tomar in the 15th century. It is the most remarkable example of a



Hindu palace of an early age. It has profuse internal decorations, inlaid with enamel tiles. There are two storeys of underground basement, which were used as dungeons for royal prisoners by the Moghuls. Here lay Murad, brother and prisoner of Aurangzeb, before being executed. Raja Man Singh also built a palace known as Gujari Mahal for his favourite Gujari queen, Mriganayani, who was as well-known for her beauty and musical talent as for strength. She had also composed several Ragas. Her palace houses a museum today. The Tomar kings were known for their devotion to art and music.

The other landmarks of the fort are the exquisite Sas Bahu temples, standing face to face and another temple—the Teli ka Mandir in the South Indian style. It is the loftiest building in the fort.

There is a steep motorable road leading on to the top of the fort. As you drive up from the main Urwai Gate, there are rock-cut standing images of Jain Tirthankaras to the right and left of the road. The largest of these images is 57 feet high, with 9-foot long feet.



At the foot of the great fort, are two other well-known monuments of the Moghul period. One is the tomb of Muhammad Ghaus, who was a



saint venerated by Akbar and the other is the tomb of Tansen, one of the nine gems of Akbar's court. The tomb of Muhammad Ghaus its known for its beautiful lattice works. Tansen's tomb is a simple structure. Tansen, you know, was amongst the greatest musicians of India. He came from a village near Gwalior. The legend is that he had such mastery over *'Ragas'* that when he sang *Deepak Rag'*, lamps would be lighted and that when the sang *'Megh Malhar'*, clouds would burst forth into rains. Every year, large crowds of musicians from all parts of India assemble here and pay their homage to the great master by singing at his tomb.

To go to Khajuraho, we shall have to come back to Jhansi and go either to Satna or Harpalpur, by train. From here, there are motorable roads to Khajuraho. These are among the most beautiful examples of Hindu temple architecture and every year attract large crowds of tourists from distant lands. The temples were built by the Chandelas, who ruled Bundelkhand from the 9th to 12 century. Khajuraho or Kharjurwahak as it was known, was then the capital of the Chandelas. There were originally 85 temples, but now only 23 survive. There are temples dedicated to Vishnu and Shiva; as also to Jain deities, which shows the religious tolerance prevalent then. In their grand planning and exquisite carvings, with the spires rising like successive mountain tops, culminating into the graceful *Shikhara,* these temples are breath-taking in their magnificence and compact beauty. The sculpture and architecture seem to be part of one whole. One the outer walls, there are bands of sculpture depicting entire life. They show the musicians and dancers giving performances, workmen playing their trades, fighters in actin and *Apsaras* making love—whole pages from real life, delicately but eloquently carved. The more famous of the temples are the Kandariya Temple, Lakshamana Temple, Jagadamba Temple, Parshvanatha Temple and the Dulahadeva Temple. The

craftsmanship of these temples is a marvel and a standing tribute to Indian skill.

Let us now move to the extensive Mahakoshal area. It was a part of the great Koshal Janapada before the Mauryan period. The Narbada Valley was the North Koshal or Chedi Desh and Chattisgrah the South Koshal.

Here, in the present Surguja district near what was Ramgarha, stands even today, the earliest open-air stage of India. It is a rock-cut amphi-theatre known as Sita Bengra. Nearby are also the Jogimara rock caves where the earliest Indian rock paintings are to be found.

An Ashokan rock-edict at Rupnath, about 35 miles from Jabalpur is among the early historical relics in this area. Later, it came under the sway of thw Shungas, Satavahanas, Vakatakas, Guptas and the Kalchuris. The powerful Kalchuris branched off into two dynasties, one ruling from Tripuri in the north and the other from Ratanpur in the south. Thirteen miles from Jabalpur are the famous marble rocks and the Dhuwandhar water-falls. Just near the place where the Narbada jumps off with a roar, is the ancient Kalchuri temple of Chausatha Yogini. In a circular temple, 81 exquisitely carved images including those of 64 Yoginis, all bearing the mark of invaders stand each in a separate chamber. Six miles from here on the road to Jabalpur, is the little village of Tewar or Tripuri which was once the seat of the Kalchuris. There is a temple of the period still standing and the whole village is full of relics of sculpture from the glorious days of the Kalchuris. At Sirpur in Raipur district there is a fine brick-temple of Gupta Style dating back to 600 A. D. Recent excavations at Sirpur have also revealed some highly developed remains of the 8th century.

This area was largely forest-clad and is believed to be where, according to Puranas, Rama spent his years of exile. It was through these forests that Rama's route to Lanka lay. Here, in Bastar, is a river called Shabari. It is supposed to be named after Shabari, the Bhil woman devotee of Rama, who is believed to have lived here.

With the weakening of the Kalchuris rose the powerful Gond kings under their legendary founder, Jado Rai. They ruled from Garha-Mandla and Chauragarha. Sangram Shah was their bravest ruler and made extensive conquests. His daughter-in-law, Rani

Durgavati was a famous queen. She was not only a most charming woman, but endowed with great administrative talent and qualities of leadership. After the death of her husband, she ably ruled for fifteen years. She was greatly devoted to her people and had several tanks dug and temples erected for their benefit. More than everything, she was a brave fighter. When Asaf Khan invaded her kingdom at the bidding of the Moghul emperor, she refused to surrender. Until the last, the fought against superior forces and died fighting in the battle-field.

Some of the Gond rulers were mighty builders. They built many forts and massive structures. The Madan Mahal near Jabalpur still reminds of the Gond era. It is a plain but large structure built an rock, without any foundation.

With the coming in of the Muslims in the 11th and 12th century, their impact also came into evidence. The palaces of Mandu—the City of Joy—still delight the pleasure-seekers. To reach the place, we must return to Bhopal and re-start our journey. Mandu is about 60 miles by road from Indore via Dhar. During the days of the Sultans of Malwa and the Moghuls, this was a royal holiday and pleasure-resort. Jehangir is known to have spent a few months here with his beautiful queen, Nurjahan and a large retinue. In the rainy season, specially the whole place, with its refreshing brooks and lakes and eye-filling greenery alround, presents a lovely panorama. The fertile Nimar plains lying 1000 feet below the plateau lend a most picturesque setting. Mandu was originally under the Paramar kings. Later, it came under the Ghoris, Khiljis and last became the seat of the Sultans of Malwa. The cool nights of the wind-swept Malwa plateau and the verdure around had made it a famous pleasure-retreat. As one moves through the old palaces—the Jahaj Mahal, Hindola Mahal, Asharfi Mahal, Rupmati's Pavilion, Tomb of Hoshang Shah, Jami Masjid, one is struck by the grandeur and beauty of their architecture. The vast halls, imposing domes, massive ramparts, cool underground water passages, ornamentation and stylising represent a fine blending of the Hindu and Muslim architecture. You still feel the lingering impact of the grand spirit of the successive kings and of Rupmati fainty echoing through the corridors. Indeed, there is an echo-point also here and the entire place seems to reverberate with the haunting memories of an era that

is past. Rupamati was the consort of the last ruler, Baj Bahadur. She was a well-known musician and had herself composed some *ragas*. Their romance is still sung in Malwa folk songs. Even in its ruins, Mandu has an irresistable charm and a grandeur, all its own.

Coming back to Bhopal from Mandu, we can have a look at the famous Bhopal lake— 'the lake among lakes'. Here, on one side is the palace of the beautiful Gond queen Kamalapati, washed by the waters of the lower lake. Bhopal was believed to be known as Bhojpal originally after the Parmar king Bhoj. Twenty-eight miles from Bhopal is the historic fort of Raisen for the conquest of which many dynasties battled over a long period of history.

Of the Moghul remains in Madhya Pradesh, there are not many. Burhanpur was one of the important centres and here, it is said, lay the dead body of Mumtaj Mahal before she was finally taken to the Taj. The Asirgarha fort near Burhanpur also occupied a strategic importance during the Moghul times and saw many battles.

Through these monuments, we have seen something of the march of history in the State. We shall round off our journey with a visit to Gwalior, again, to offer our homage at the Samadhi of Rani Laxmi Bai of Jhansi. Below the fort on the one side, you are aware, are the tombs of Muhammad Ghaus and Tansen. On the other side is a simple *Samadhi* of Rani Laxmi Bai of Jhansi. This has come to symbolise the first uprising of India against the enclosing tentacles of British imperialism. Rani Laxmi Bai, perhaps you know her story, was the young widow of the ruler of Jhansi. Being widow, she was dispossessed by the British and pensioned off. She resented the treatment. The British were still finding their feet in India. The Moghul and Maratha powers were crumbling. It was the last phase of the struggle between Indian power and the more organised and



modernised foreign empire-builders. The East India Company had established its commercial empire in India and was assuming political reins. At this time, there were the first risings of Indian nationalism. In Meerut, on May 23, 1857 the first shots were fired against the British. The simmering discontent came to the surface. There were risings in the various parts of the country. The brilliant General, Tatya Tope and the Rani of Jhansi led the rebel forces against the British. The rebel army fought the British troops for several days with initial success, but they were defeated at Kalpi. The Rani moved into Gwalior fort for a last-ditch battle. As the fort was surrounded, she tore her way through. But, while coming down on her horse, a shot was received on her side and she was struck on the head. She fell fighting near the spot where her *Smadhi* stands today. On this spot is now being raised a memorial to the brave fighter of India's first war of independence.

You know the history of the British rule and the epic freedom struggle under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. After Swaraj, the process of consolidation began, leading to the merger of these historical areas into the present State of Madhya Pradesh.

This nearly completes our journey up to the present era. The State saw the beginnings of prehistoric civilisation and the rise of glorious empires of the Mauryas, Gutpas, Rajputs, Pathans, Moghuls and Marathas. Being in the centre of the country, it has provided an ideal meeting-ground for different peoples and civilisations. It was, indeed, the crucible of fusion of races and tribes, of religions and beliefs, of cultures and styles. Our State saw the invasion of many races and cultures. It saw here the Greeks and Parthians, the Shakas and Huns, the Jains and Buddhists, the Shaivites and Vaishnavites, the Rajputs and Muslims—all came and found themselves merged into the main-stream of the Indian culture. The Heliordorus pillar near vidisha stands as a monument to the synthesising genius of this land. This absorbing capacity is truly the main characteristic of India. Through ages of her history, tolerance has been her most important hall-mark.

We are lucky to be in Madhya Pradesh. We are heirs to the glorious heritage of our ancient culture and, even if in a small way, reflect her assimilative genius. This was the heart of India. The State



is no doubt new, but perhaps, its vision had been seen centuries ago, by the great poet, Kalidas. Indeed, the cloud-messenger of Kalidas's Meghdoot had covered almost the entire State on its route. The Narbada, which is like the mother to the whole State, has been another uniting link for ages physically and emotionally. We have a glorious past at our back and a promising future ahead. The new age after freedom brings to us undreamt-of vistas opened by science and technology and throws a challenge to the very spirit of adventure in man. Let us take this challenge.

On the progress of each unit, will depend the progress of the whole country. Remember, each one of us has to play a part.

10

Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla His Career (1877-1956)

Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla was one of those leaders who played a notable role, both in the national freedom struggle from 1919 to 1947 and in shaping the administration of Madhya Pradesh in the early years of freedom. He chose the former Central provinces and Berar as his area of work during the freedom struggle, and later as the Chief Minister of the State, he laid the foundation of its educational and industrial progress. After the States Re-organisation in 1956 he became the Chief Minister of the new Madhya Pradesh and remained so till his death on 31st December 1956.

Shuklaji, as he was popularly know, was born in Sagar, on August, 2, 1877. His family originally hailed from Unnao district of Uttar Pradesh. His great-grandfather made Sagar, in the then Central Provinces, his home in the beginning of the nineteenth century. His great-grandfather, Pandit Ramchandra Shukla, was known for his great personality and for his sense of devotion to work. Shuklaji's father was a sub-agent in Ralli Brothers. Ravi Shankar was brought up in the loving care of his grand-father, his parents, Pandit Jagannath Shukla and Tulsi Devi, and his uncle, Pandit Gajadhar Shukla.

Shuklaji had his primary education at Sagar and his secondary education at Raipur. After matriculation in 1895, he joined the Hislop College at Nagpur and took the B. A. degree of the Calcutta University in 1899. Later, when he was a teacher in the Hitakarini School at Jabalpur in 1901-02 and the Headmaster of the State High School at Khairagarh in 1903-04, he stuided Law and took the degree from the Allahabad University in 1904.

It was during his college days at Nagpur that Shuklaji began taking interest in public life. The inspiration came from his teacher, Pandit Bhagirath Prasad Dubey, and Shuklaji attended the 14th All India Congress Session at Amravati in 1897 as a volunteer. Since that year till his death, Shuklaji was a staunch Congressman and he made the organisation strong in Central India. Another person who left a profound impression of patriotic zeal on young Shuklaji's mind was Pandit Vishnu Dutt Shukla.

After graduation, Shuklaji entered Government service in 1899 but resigned the job to become a teacher at Jabalpur in 1901. He was married at Jabalpur in June 1902. It was in December 1902 that Shuklaji's courage was truly put to the test. Plague broke out in Jabalpur and his young wife, Bhavani Devi, caught the infection. Shuklaji personally nursed his wife during the terrible illness and saved her life. Shuklaji took upon himself the ordeal of nursing a patient of plague a second time when he attended on the second son of the Diwan of Khairagarh. As the Headmaster of the State School at Khairagarh in 1903-04, Shuklaji was very popular, both as a teacher and a cricketer—a left-handed bowler.

Shuklaji began his practice as a lawyer at Rajanandgaon in 1907 and soon moved to Raipur where he made his home all his life He made his mark in the legal profession and was known as an outstanding lawyer of the region, both on the criminal and the civil side. When the Congress was split into two groups—the Moderates and the Radicals in 1907. Shuklaji joined the Radicals. His close associates then were Pyarelal Mishra, Wamanrao Lakhe, Moolchand Tiwari, Thakur Hanuman Singh, Madhavrao Sapre. Jamnlal Bajaj, Shri Krishnadas Jaju and Govind Das. They remained his life-long friends. Pandit D. P. Mishra, who was associated with him later, was also a close friend of Shuklaji.

In 1914 Shuklaji began taking an interest in civic affairs. He was elected a member of the Raipur Municipal Committee that year and he held the office without a break till 1924. In 1921 he was elected a member of the AICC and in the same year he was also elected a member of the Raipur District Council and remained so till 1934.

It was in response of Gandhiji's call that Shuklaji sacrificed a very lucrative legal practice and plunged into the national freedom

movement. He was arrested in 1921 but the Government was forced to free him as huge crowds surrounded the police station where he was taken in custody and citizens from all walks of life demanded his immediate release. It spoke of his popularity. Shuklaji was jailed again in 1930, 1932, 1941 and 1942 during the freedom movement.

Shuklaji's career as a legislator started in 1922 when he was first elected to the Legislative Council of the Central Provinces. He was a member of the Swarajya Party in the Legislative Council in 1924 and 1926. In the first elected Congress Ministries in the Provinces, Shuklaji became the Education Minister of C. P. and Berar and, after the Khare episode, he was sworn in as the Prime Minister (as the Chief Minister was then called) of the Province. When the Congress Ministries resumed office in 1946, Shuklaji again became the Chief minister of C.P. and Berar and he continued to be the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh even after the reorganisation of the States till his death in 1956.

Shuklaji was a man of deep convictions. he was opposed to India being dragged into the Second World War on the side of the British without national consent, but at the same time he declared in his speech in the Legislative Assembly (November 4, 1939) that the Congress would remain a second Himalaya for th nation's protection against Nazi and Bolshevik totalitarianism. In 1947 in a moving speech he expressed himself against the partition of India. Gandhiji made a reference to this speech of his in the prayer meeting on June 16, 1947.

A fact not widely known was Shuklaji's strong opposition in 1946 to the British move to lease out Bastar to the Nizam for ninety-nine years. He took Sardar Patel's help to foil the move.

Shuklaji had a commanding personality. His tall stature, big grey moustaches, the traditional Indian dress of khadi dhoti and kurta and the white cap, and his quiet yet friendly manners created a very favourable impression on every one who come in contact with him. He was generous by nature and never had any hard feelings for any one.

Shuklaji's impact on the social, educational and political life in Madhya Pradesh was great. He brought about social reforms in the Kanyakubja community. As the Education Minister, Shuklaji

introduced the Vidya Mandir scheme in C.P. and Berar. He encouraged the study and the development of Hindi as the national language. He has also an abiding interest in literature. He wrote 'Rashtra Bhasha ki Samasya aur Hidusthani Andolan' and the 'Lingua Franca' in 1945. He derived spiritual guidance from the Gita and he was greatly influenced in his political career by the relentless fight put up against the British by Eamon de Valera of Ireland.

One of the most notable contribution by Shukalaji during the freedom struggle was organising the teachers to make the national freedom movement very strong in Raipur district when he was the President of the District Council in the late twenties and the early thirties. His work in the rural areas with the help of the teacher's organisation created a mass awakening in the district and he set up what was almost a parallel Government in the area. It was during those years that he developed faith in democracy.

Those years also made him look to the people as one and he made no discrimination on grounds of caste or religion. In fact, when allegations were made against his Ministry for ill-treatment of the Muslims in 1937-39 during the Hindu-Muslim riots, he immediately ordered a full-scale inquiry and Justice Maclean held that the Ministry was completely free from blame. Inside the Legislative Assembly a representative of the Muslims, K.S. Abdur Rehman Khan, spoke highly of Pandit Shukla's generous attitude and said that the allegations against his Ministry were baseless.

Shuklaji left a deep impression on the political life of the old Madhya Pradesh in particular by making parliamentary democracy a success and by making the administration less rigid and more and more popularly oriented.

In the post-Independence era, Shuklaji laid the foundation of industrialisation of Madhya Pradesh by being largely instrumental in having the first public sector steel plant set up at Bhilai. It was his monumental gift to the region he loved and served all his life.

11

In C. P. Legislative Assembly

I

LIST OF MEMBERS

Speaker:- The Hon'ble Mr. Ghanashyam Singh Gupta

Deputy Speaker:- Mrs. Anasuyabai Kale

MEMBERS

Dr. Narayan Bhaskar Khare

Mr. L.N. Hardas

Mr. Khushalchand Ghasiram Khajanchi

Mr. Narmada Prasad Mishra

Mr. Keshorao Ramchandrarao Khandekar

Dr. Jagannath Ganpatrao Mahodaya

Mr. Piarelal Singh

The Hon'ble Mr. Sambhajirao V. Ghokhale (Minister)

Mr. P.B. Gole

Mr. Bajrang Thekedar

Mr. Sitaram Laxman Patil

Mr. Bhikulal Laxmichand Chanda

Mr. A.N. Udhoji

Mr. T.J. Kedar

Mr. Pukhraj Kocher
Mr. Dashrath Laxman Patil
Mr. R. S. Dube
Mr. D. B. Khobergade
Mr. Nilkanth Yadaorao Deotale
Mr. Dharamrao Bhujangarao
Seth Dipchand Lakshmichand Gothi
Mr. Biharilal Deorao Patel
Mr. Gulab Chand Choudhary
Mr. G. B. Jambholkar
Mr. Prabhakar D. Jatar
The Hon'ble Mr. Durgashankar Kripasankar Mehta (Minister)
The Hon'ble Pandit Dwaraka Prasad Mishra (Minister)
Mr. Matua Chaitu Mehta
Mr. Kashi Prasad Pande
Mr. N. Hanumant Rao
Mr. G.K. Lokras
Mr. Jalamsing Moti
Mr. Vasudeorao Venkatrao Subhedar
Mr. Premshanker Laxmishanker Dhagat
Mr. Bhagirath Rakhan Choudhary
Mr. Mahendralal Choudhary
Mr. Lal Choodaman Shah
Mr. Lala Arjun Singh
Mr. Dattatraua Bhikaji Naik
Mr. Shankerlal Choudhary
Mr. Rameshwar Agnibhoj
Mr. Bhavwantrao Annabhow Mandloi
Mr. M. R. Majumdar
Mr. Anantram
Mahant Purandas

Mahant Laxminarayandas
The Hon'ble Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla (Prime Minister)
Mahanta Naidas
Mr. Jamanalal Tejmal Chopda
Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao
Mahanta Sukritdas
Mr. Rangopal Tiwari
Mr. Agamdas Guru Gosai
Sardar Amarsingh Baijnathsingh Saigal
Thakur Chhedilal
Mr. Bahoriklal Suryawanshi
Mr. M.L. Bakliwal
Mahant Posudas
Mr. Vishvanathrao Yadaorao Tamaskar
Mr. Ghanshyam Singh Gupta
Mr. Kanhaiyalal
Seth Badrinarain Agarwal
Mr. Ganpatrao Pande
Mr. Raghoba Gambhira Ghodichore
Mr. V.M. Jakatdar
Mr. Suganchandra Chunnial Lunavat
Mr. R.A. Deshmukh
Mr. Ganeshrao Ramchandra Deshmukh
Mr. Laxman Narayan Natde
Mr. Ganesh Akaji Gavai
Mr. Bhimsingh Govindsingh
Mr. Keshao Januji Khandare
Mr. Umedsingh Narayansingh Thakur
Mr. Vithalrao Narayanrao Jamadar
Rao Sahib Dinkarrao Dharrao Rajurkar
Mr. Daolat Kisan Bhagat

Mr. Narayan Balaji Bobde
Mr. M.P. Kolhe
Mr. Pandhari Sitaram Patil
Mr. Laxman Sharwan Bhatkar
Mr. Tukaram Shankar Patil
Mr. Krishnarao Ganhatrao Deshmukh
Khan Sahib Syed Muzaffar Husain
Mr. Mohammad Monibbul Haq
Mr. Mohammad Yusuf Shareef
Khan Sahib Syed Yasin
Khan Sahib Abdul Razak Khan
Khan Sahib iftikhar Ali
Khan Sahib Wali Mohammad
Khan Bahadur Syed Hifazat Ali
Mr. S.W.A. Rizvi
Mr. Mohiuddin Khan
Mr. Hidayat Ali
Khan Bahadur Mirza Rahman Beg
Mr. Syed Abdur Raufshah
Khan Sahib Abdur-Rahman Khan
Mrs. Ansuyabai Kale
Mrs. Subhadra Kumari Chauhan
Mrs. Durgabai Joshi
The Revd. G.C. Rogers
Mr. L.H. Bartlett
Mr. Udai Bhanu Shah
The Hon'ble Mr. Chhaganlal Jaideo Prasad Bharuka (Minister)
Seth Gopaldas Bulakhidas Mohota
Mr. Rajendra Sinha
Mr. Madhav Gangadhar Chitnavis

Mr. R.M. Deshmukh

Mr. Ganpati Sadashiv Page

Mr. V. R. Kalappa

Mr. B. G. Khaparade

Proceedings of the C.P. Assembly

Budget Session-Nagpur—15th March to 20th April 1939 Financial Statement for 1939-40.

The Budget Session of the C.P. Legislative Assembly commenced at Nagpur on the 15th March 1939. The Hon'ble Mr. D.K. Mehta, the Finance Member introduced the Budget for 1939-40 which revealed a small surplus of Rs. 1.26 lakhs. Receipts are expected to total Rs. 434.74 lakhs and expenditure Rs. 433.48 lakhs. The revised Budget Estimates for 1938-39 indicate a revenue deficit of Rs. 34.18 lakhs instead of a budgeted surplus of Rs. 82,000, attributed mainly to fall under "land revenue". To meet this deficit, the Minister said that the Government proposed to impose certain new taxes, an enhancement of rates of stamp duties on non-judicial stamps as prevailing in most provinces, levy of license fees and an ad valorem tax on the sale of tobacco, enhancement of the rate of the sales tax on motor spirit and lubricants, and enhancement of the rate of fees of private motor vehicles. Stamp duties will yield an additional Rs. 4,50,000. The tobacco tax will produce Rs. 3,00,000 and the enhanced tax on lubricant oil is estimated to bring in an income of about Rs. 15,000. Referring to expenditure in Berar, Mr. Mehta said that there was no aspect of the Budget which the members of the House from Berar did not scrutinize with a more watchful eye than the proportion of divisible expenditure allotted to Berar. For the first time for many years, they would meet with a pleasant surprise at finding that their demand has neared fulfilment. While the proportion of divisible revenue contributed by Berar has fallen from 36.7 to 35.5, the percentage of divisible expenditure allotted to Berar has risen from 30.8 to 33.7 of real new expenditure, as much as 41 per cent having been allotted to it.

Proceeding, the Minister announced that the total new expenditure for which provision has been made, amounts to

Rs. 26.09 lakhs. A road programme, amounting to Rs. 45 lakhs, to be financed largely from the Road Fund, has been drawn up and forwarded to the Central Government for approval. A fairly large proportion of the new expenditure this year has been allotted to the Medical and Public Health Departments. Rs. 52,000 has been earmarked for the promotion of Ayurvedic and Unani medicine. Rs. 9,000 has been provided for subsidizing allopathic practitioners. The plan for organizing a public health service has been completed and Rs. 64,000 has been provided for making a beginning. The most important scheme is the one for vidhya mandirs, with a capital expenditure of Rs. 2.66 lakhs, which is sufficient for financing 100 vidya mandirs. Speaking on the policy and programme which is engaging the attention of the Government, the Minister declared that the water rates for irrigation were considerably reduced that the water rates for irrigation were considerably reduced but this had failed to attract new agreements in certain tracts. A final effort would be made to make people realize the gravity of the situation. Out of the prudence and sheer necessity the Government had decided to continue with the extension of the prohibition scheme, which would be extended to two more districts. The total recurrent loss of revenue due to prohibition was Rs. 38 lakhs. Another important proposal, he said, was the introduction of tenancy reform in general and transferability of occupancy holdings in particular.

The proposal to separate the executive and judicial was under examination specially with regard to the administrative and financial implications, said Mr. Mehta. Concluding, the Minister said that the constitutional barriers must, one by one, yield ultimately before the pressure of public opinion and consideration of justice and fair play. "But meanwhile it is becoming increasingly difficult for us to bear our cross of financial orthodoxy, and unless the Secretary of State is prepared to assist us in securing a reasonable reduction in the cost of administration, and thus to ease the strain, we shall be compelled to seek some effective means of ending the situation.

PRISONS ACT AMEND BILL

After the Budget had been presented, the House took up official Bills. On the motion of the Ministry for Jails, the House passed into

two Bills, one amending the Prisons Act, 1894, in its application to C.P. and Berar, and the other amending the Indian Bar Councils Act, 1926. The first Bill defined political prisoners and secured better treatment for them in the matter of food and other amenities in jails, while the second Bill empowered the High Court to take action in the form of reprimand, suspension or removal from practising against such lawyers as are found guilty of professional misconduct or criminal offence, rendering them unfit to continue as advocates.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

16th and 17 March—General discussion of the Budget commenced on the 16th March. Rao Sahib D.T. Rajurker, leading the attack, complained that the Government had not affected all economies they had promised, that salaries of high-paid officers were not reduced and that the Government was taking people at a time when no further burden could be borne. He alleged that the Congress Government was leading the province to insolvency and charged the Government with neglecting the interests of Moslems and Harijans by not including their representatives in the Cabinet. Mr. M. G. Chitnavis referred to the fact that ever since the Congress came into office taxation to the tune of Rs. 20 lakhs had been imposed. He urged that experts from foreign countries should be brought for developing local industries. Mr. V.M. Jakatdor, Secretary of the Congress Party, alleged that the Ministry was not acting up to 'Gandhian' principles as they spent Rs. 50,000 in furnishing bungalows while hundreds of people were living in mud huts. He stated that appointments made by them had evoked complaints of partiality and favouritism, and urged that the Minister's conduct should, like Caesar's wife, be above suspicion. He referred to the economic condition of the people and said that from personal knowledge he could say that people were unable to pay second kist land revenue and urged its suspension. Other Congress members also participated in the debate. The House then adjourned till the next day, the 17th March, when Mr. K. G. Deshmukh (Congress) drew the attention of the Ministry to the defects in the present system of preparing crop estimates in Berar and said that revenue officers paid no heed to the reasonable grievances of the people in

this respect. Mrs. Durgabai Joshi (Congress) emphasised the urgent need for reducing enhancement of revenue in the 12 talukas comprising Berar and the C.P. Marathi tracts. Khan Sahib Abdur Rahaman Khan (Muslim League) referred to the said plight of Kisans of Berar and the C.P. Marathi tracts. Khan Sahib Abdur Rahaman Khan (Muslim League) referred to the said plight of Kisans of Berar, particularly Buldana and Khamgaon districts, and complained that the Government had shown discrimination in giving relief to the peasantry. Mr. V.R. Kalappa (Congress) appreciated the Ministry's action in balacing the budget this year under difficult conditions and supported generally the new development schemes and taxation measures to finance them. The Rev. G. C. Rogers (European and Anglo-Indian representative) congratulated Mr. Mehta on producing a balanced budget this year, which, he said, was fair; just and reasonable to all interest. He deprecated the destructive criticisms of the Budget proposals in the House. Rev. Rogers objected to the high salaries of the Service and urged the Government to take concerted action in this matter with the other provinces with a view to reducing administrative expenditure. Mr. T. J. Kedar characterised the budget as "most useless" and found fault with the Finance Minister for showing it as surplus one, though in reality it was a deficit budget. He was sorry to confess that though they had come to the House to wreck the new Constitution, the Indian Act 1935 had broken them. Mr. Kedar complained that the C.P. Marathi tract has been treated as an orphan by the Government in the matter of affording relief to the peasantry. He also objected to the extension of the Prohibition experiment this year, costing about Rs. 8 lakhs loss in revenue, without the Assembly being consulted in the matter, particularly since the Ministry had come forward with the new taxation proposals to meet this loss of excise revenue. Replying to the debate, the Finance Minister, Mr. D. K. Mehta answered Mr. Kedar's criticisms of the Government's policy. Speaking in Hindi, Mr. Mehta pointed out the Prohibition was the Congress policy and the House had already passed the Prohibition Act last year. They had extended the Prohibition experiment this year in pursuance of the policy which had been approved by the Assembly. He regretted that no constructive suggestions had been made during the debate. Dealing

with the Harijan Member's complaint about inadequacy of grants, Mr. Mehta mentioned the provision of Rs. 40,000 this year for the benefit of their educational advancement. He emphasised that Harijans, more than any other community, would reap the benefit of the Government's Prohibition policy. He remarked that he and his colleagues owed of the Government's Prohibition policy. He remarked that he and his colleagues owed allegiance to an institution (the Congress) which believed in actin and not in mere empty talk. The Finance Minister added that after a series of deficit budgets in the last ten years, he considered it essential to balance the budget this year in order to increase the credit of this province in the market. He assured the House that they would continue to remain in office only as long as the Congress wanted them to do so. Mr. Mehta maintained that enhanced petrol tax would not hit the poor and that the additional taxation burden had been imposed on those capable of bearing. They were examining the question of augmenting revenues by tapping new sources and in this connection, he mentioned the possibility of their considering imposition of an employment tax on the lines of the U.P. measure.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

18th to 27th March—Voting on Budget demands for grant commenced on the 18th March. Mr. P. B. Gole (Congress) through a token cut raised the question of the Government's policy, particularly the failure of the co-operative banks in Berar. The mover said, in its initial stages, this movement was encouraged by Government and its officers but later, the Government became indifferent to its fortunes. Mr. Gole said he had expected better treatment from the Congress Government this year in the budget but he had been disappointed. He asked the Government either to help the co-operative banks in the present crisis or advance loans to needy agriculturists who had no credit in the market. Mr. Gole alluded in this connection to the Bombay Congress Government's determination to finance these credit societies and the provision made in this year's Bombay budget for this purpose and asked the C. P. Ministry to move in the matter. Nine members spoke on the subject. Emphasising generally the need for Government assistance.

Some speakers from Berar held that mismanagement of the banks and the high rates of interest charged on loans were responsible for the present critical state of affairs, while others pointed out that co-operation had failed only in Berar. the House then adjourned till Monday, the 20th March, when the Minister, Mr. D. P. Mishra, in the course of his speech, rebutting the charge that the Government had been indifferent to the critical situation in Berar, pointed out that they had appointed a committee to examine the entire situation in respect of the co-operative movement there and the report of this committee, which the Government had received only this week, would be shortly considered by them. He assured the House that there had not been any departure in respect of Government policy for which they deserved censure. The Government fully recognised, as any member of the House, the immense value of the co-operative movement. Next day, the 21st March, Mr. Gole withdrew his cut motion on the assurance given by Mr. Mishra. Discussion on the demand under "Industries" was next moved by the Minister, Mr. C. J. Bharuka. Speaking on a Congress member's token cut motion, Mr. Bharuka gave details of the progress hitherto made by the Industrial Survey Committee constituted by the Government and said that the Government would take up the question of assistance to both small and large scale and cottage industries in the province after considering the Committee's suggestions, which he expected to receive shortly. The Committee, he added, had recently completed a preliminary survey of typical rural industries in select villages. The Minister also gave a resume of the several activities of the Industries Department, particularly in the matter of reviving village industries with the co-operation of the All-India Spinners' Association and the All-India village Industries Association at Wardha. The cut motion was withdrawn by the Congress member, Mr. M. P. Gole (from Berar), who urged the Government to expedite the enunciation of a definite policy on the subject. The House then adjourned till the 23rd March, when the Government's policy in respect of appointment to posts under its control was explained by the Minister, the Hon. Mr. J. C. Bharuka. A cut motion was moved by the Leader of the Opposition, Rao Saheb D. D. Rajukar, who urged the removal of the present Deputy Director of Industries of C.P. on the ground that he was not a bonafide resident of the province. Six members from all

sections of the House strongly pleaded that preference should be given to provincial men having the requisite qualification as against those who were not bonafide residents of the province. The Minister, replying to the debate, asserted that the present incumbent of the post, Mr. C. L. Gupta, had the requisite qualification and wide practical experience and in appointing him, the Government had acted in the best interests of the province. The Government considered it its duty to given preference to provincial men, but while filling up technical posts they could not subscribe to the view that in no case should an outsider be appointed. It would be a suicidal policy, he said, not to utilise the services of the best qualified persons in the interests of the province, merely because they were not residents of this province. Mr. Rajurkar, however, protested that the Government and turned down the claims of the other candidate (a resident of the Central Provinces) even though he possessed, according to speaker, the necessary qualifications for the post and had appointed a non-resident of the province. Describing this as "an act of injustice," the mover pressed the cut motion to a division. It was defeated by 57 votes to 18. The House then granted the entire Industries demand. Next day, the 25th March, discussing the famine Relief Demand of Rs. 5,700, six members from Berar, both Congress and Non-Congress, supported a token cut motion of Rao Sahib D. Y. Rajurkar who demanded that a state of famine should be declared in Berar. The mover of the "cut", emphasising the need for Government action, described the acute economic distress prevalent in Berar. Complaining about the inadequacy of relief, Mr. Rajurkar said that out of a total Land Revenue demand of Rs. 36 lakhs, the Government had suspended only Rs. 4 lakhs in Berar. He warned the Government that the situation might become worse, if famine was not declared and concluded by suggesting that the Government should advance liberal taccavi loans to cultivators, enabling them to improve the productivity of land. Most of the speakers from Berar, supporting the motion, endorsed generally the demand made by Mr. Rajurkar. The Revenue Minister, Mr. S. V. Gokhale, admitted that the agrarian distress this year was acute, particularly in the cotton producing areas of Berar and Nagpur Divisions. The crop failure, he maintained, was not wholesale, but was confined to some parts. Since 1930, they had a series of

successive crop failure in Berar and the Government recognised that in addition to this, condition this year had become worse in certain parts, in which crops were damaged owing to excessive rains. Land revenue suspensions amounting to Rs. 9 lakhs had already been given by the Government in areas where crops had failed. They had also earmarked a sum of Rs. 5, 700 in the Budget and opened test relief works in some places of Berar where the distress was acute. The Government had also decided to distribute Rs. 12 lakhs to needy agriculturists in the form of taccavi loans and, if necessary, they would allot extra funds to help Kisans, for whom the Government had full sympathy in their distress. The House then adjourned till Monday next, the 27th March, when the discussion on the Eamine Relief demand was continued the whole day, and gullotine was applied at 5 p.m., whereafter the House voted the rest of the demands. In all, twelve members, mostly from the Congress benches, spoke to-day. They urged the Government to render all possible help to the peasantry, particularly in the cotton producing tracts of Berar and the Nagpur Division, where economic distress this year was acute owing to the failure of crops and scarcity of money which was the main problem facing the riots. The need for the Government expecting its relief measures to save the peasantry was emphasised by all those participating in the discussion. Two Congress members, however, definitely stated that Government should not declare famine in Berar. The Revenue Minister, Mr. S. V. Gokhale, replying, pointed out that the outturn of crops other than cotton was satisfactory in Berar. The figures for the last ten years had shown, they should remember, a gradual fall in the area of cotton cultivation. He concluded by assuring the House that the Government were fully alive to the situation and would do their best to help the peasantry. The "cut" motion was lost. This concluded the voting on Budget demands and the House adjourned.

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

28th March—The Assembly discussed non-official resolutions to-day. The first resolution moved by Mr. D. L. Patil (Harijan) from the Opposition benches recommended to the Government that the age-limit for entry of Harijans into Government services be increased

from 25 to 30. After most of the Harijan members had supported it, the mover withdrew the resolution in view of Premier Shukla's assurance of sympathetic consideration of the suggestion on the part of the Government. The Premier also took the opportunity to explain what Government had done for the general betterment and educational advancement of Harijans and other backward classes. A major portion of to-day's sitting was devoted to a discussion of a Congress member's resolution (Mr. L. N. Nathe from Berar) urging the Government to grant total remission of rents and revenue in the cotton tracts of the Nagpur and Berar division this year. The debate had not concluded when the House adjourned till the 30th.

THE TAXATION BILLS

30th March—The Assembly to-day discussed the first of the four new taxation measures undertaken to augment the revenues of the Province. On the motion of Mr. C. J. Bharuka, Industries Minister, the House agreed, after a prolonged debate, to refer the C. P. and Benar Indian Stamp Amendment Bill to a select committee with instructions to report before the 3rd April, 1939. The Bill provided for the enhancement of the rates of stamp duties on non-judicial stamps to the level prevailing in most other provinces. Opposition motion for the purpose of eliciting public opinion, was rejected by the House by 51 votes to 20. The Opposition was mainly led by Mr. Rajurkar (Leader of the Opposition) and Mr. B. G. Khaparde, who vehemently criticised the Government's action in trying to impose "fresh burdens on the people at a time when economic conditions made it impossible for them to shoulder the weight of new taxes". They threw a challenge to the Congress Party to get a resolution endorsing the taxation measures passed at a public meeting at any place in the province. Mr. D. K. Mehta, Finance Minister, repudiating the charge that the Congress Party had forgotten its election promises to reduce the tax burden, declared that they knew fully their duties to their constituencies, and to the organisation they belonged. The Minister pointed out that they had lighted the burden of taxation to the extent of Rs. 30 lakhs by conferring direct benefits on the people, including substantial relief from land revenue dues. While admitting that they had not achieved all that they intended, Mr. Mehta claimed that they were entitled to credit for conferring

benefits on poor cases. A saving of Rs. fifteen lakhs had already been effected through economies in administrative expenditure, and further scope for reduction was under the consideration of the Government. Mr. Mehta justified the new taxation measures on the score of balancing the budget and money being needed for the development schemes.

31st March—The Assembly to-day was occupied chiefly with discussion of the Bill seeking to levy a tax on sale of tobacco in the province at the rate of ten per cent on the value of tobacco sold. The Bill provided that the tax be not levied and collected from the grower who sold tobacco grown by him. The Hon. Mr. C. J. Bharuku said that the Government anticipated next year an yield of Rs. 3 lakhs from this tax. He assured the House that the effect on the consumer of tobacco would be imperceptible and the burden of the proposed taxation would not be excessive. During the debate Mr. T. J. Kedar, from the Congress benches, took the House by surprise when speaking on the Bill he said that it was 'ultra vires' of the legislature. Elucidating his point, Mr. Kedar stated that he felt that this legislation sought to impose a tax on the sale of tobacco and it came within the scope of Excise Duty as defined in Item 45, Schedule 7 of List I contained in the Government of India Act, 1935, which the Federal Legislature has alone entitled to impose. Mr. Kedar was of the opinion that the proposed tax in reality amounted to a levy on manufacture of tobacco and therefore could be constructed as an Excise Duty on tobacco, the imposition of which was within the competence of the Federal Legislature and not the Provincial Legislature. The Hon. Mr. D. K. Mehta, Finance Minister, rebutting Mr. Kedar's contention that the tax was in the nature of an Excise Duty, explained that the Bills sought to impose a tax on the sale of tobacco in the province, not on its manufacture. The levy of the proposed duty would operate, he added, only when tobacco was sold wholesale or retail. The Government had carefully considered this aspect when examining the Bill and he held that the C. P. Assembly was competent to deal with the legislation. As for the suggestions made by Mr. Kedar and others, Mr. Mehta said that the Select Committee would consider them. Discussion had not concluded when the House adjourned for the day.

1st April—The three Government Bills incorporating fresh taxation measures were referred to select committees to-day. Attempts of opposition members to secure circulation of the Bills failed. All the three Bills came in for severe criticism from members of the Opposition, who argued generally that the new taxation proposed would primarily hit the poor classes, imposing on them a fresh burden, which they were incapable of bearing. They also complained that the Government had not placed before the House details of the new Government schemes to finance which the Government had brought forward the taxation measures. It was pointed out, on behalf of the Government by the Hon. Mr. Bharuka, that the reasons for the fresh taxation were clearly set out in the Budget speech, and the new schemes which the Government had undertaken were fully described in the detailed Budget statement. They refuted the contention that the new taxes would affect classes of people ill able to bear the burden. The Tobacco Bill was referred to a Select Committee after discussion. The two other taxation Bills sought to enhance the registration fees payable by private motor vehicles excluding lorries and to increase the sales tax rate on motor spirit and lubricants from 5 to 8 per cent. The Government expect two and a quarter lakhs extra revenue from these sources. The Opposition members did not press their motions for circulation to a division.

OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

3rd April—Five Bills, as reported by the selected committee, were passed into law to-day. Two of these sought to amend the Debt Conciliation Act, two others to amend the Money-lenders Act and another to amend Section 13 of the Legal Practitioners Act. The select committee on the Motor Spirits and Lubricants Taxation Bill limited the operation of the measure to a year and made it clear that the enhanced tax would apply to sales during the period for which this amending Act would remain in force. The select committee on the Prisoners' Bill had increased the period of parole from one week to ten days, and the select committee on the Factories Bill fixed the registration fee at a maximum of Rs. 150.

VILLAGE PANCHAYATS AMEND. BILL

4th April—Khan Saheb Abdur Rahman (Moselim League) moved to-day his Bill to Amend the Village Panchayat Act. The Bill was designed to ensure that one-third of the total members of panchayats belonged to the minority communities. The Khan Saheb's demand for separate representation was supported by some non-Congress Harijans members. Pandit D. P. Mishra, Minister for Local Self-Government, replying to the debate, asked the mover of the Bill to realise that joint electorates were the best safeguard against any encroachment and curtailment of the rights and interests of the minority communities. He earnestly appealed to the sponsor of the Bill to do nothing which was sure to spread communalisation into rural areas.

ECONOMIC DISTRESS IN BERAR

5th April—The condition of peasants in the province hard hit by economic distress was referred to by several speakers to-day, when two resolutions sponsored by Congress members were discussed. During the resumed debate, on Mr. L. N. Nathe's resolution recommending the grant of full land revenue remission to peasants in the cotton producing areas (Berar and Nagpur divisions) owing to failure of the crop this year, speakers supporting the resolution, emphasised the urgent need for relief, and appealed to the Government to help the kisans. The Revenue Minister, the Hon. Mr. S. V. Gokhale, was frequently interrupted by members of the Congress Party and other groups when replying to the discussion. He explained the measures taken so far with a view to enabling the peasants to tide over the distress. The resolution was withdrawn by the mover after the Minister's reply. The mover stated that his object was merely to draw the Government's attention to the acute and widespread distress of the peasantry.

ARREARS OF TACCAVI LOANS

Discussion had not concluded on the resolution demanding that all arrears of taccavi loans outstanding for more than three years should

be remitted by the Government. Mr. K. R. Khandekar (Congress), who moved the resolution, was supported by six members of the Congress Party, all of whom urged the Government to take into consideration the peasants' inability to repay and to remit this amount, which Mr. Khandekar estimated was just over Rs. 25 lakhs. The House then adjourned till the 11th April when the motion was ultimately withdrawn, Mr. S. V. Gokhale, Revenue Minister, stating that the Government's attitude was one of sympathy.

IMPROVEMENT TRUST OPERATIONS

Mr. M. G. Chitnaris's resolution demanding the postponement of the Improvement Trust operations till the Nagpur Improvement Trust Act was amended to make the Government financially liable for the improvement was defeated. Mr. K. G. Deshmukh (Congress) urged through his resolution that, in view of the failure of crops this year, the Government should not sell the movable or immovable property of agriculturists for recovery of land revenue. He advised Ministers not to look through official glasses but view things as elected representatives of the people. The Revenue Minister was replying to the debate when the House adjourned.

VILLAGE PANCHAYATS AMEND. BILL (CONTD).

11th April—By an overwhelming majority, the Assembly, this evening, rejected the motion for reference to a select committee of Khan Shaeb Abdur Rahaman Khan's (Muslim League) Bill seeking to amend the C. P. Village Panchayats Act to ensure representation of minority communities on the village panchayats through separate electorates. Practically, the whole day was devoted to a discussion of the Bill, which was supported by Muslim League members and was opposed by Congress members. Nine members from the Opposition benches supported the select committee motion (six Muslims and three non-Congress Harijans) while two Harijans from the Opposition side opposed the Bill along with the Government.

OFFICIAL BILLS DISCUSSED

13th April—The Assembly transacted official business to-day and disposed of a number of Government Bills. On the motion of

Minister D.P. Mishra, the House, after an hour's debate, agreed to refer to a select committee the Bill amending the C. P. Municipalities Act. The Bill provided for the adoption of adult franchise for election to local bodies and municipalities. The Government proposed to make a beginning in selected municipalities. During the debate, the Congress members supported the measure, while Mr. M. M. Haq (Muslim League) thought that the introduction of the Bill was premature at the present juncture.

The Assembly next without discussion passed into law the bill amending the Prohibition Act, 1938 on the motion of the Excise Minister. The bill prohibited the publication of liquor advertisements in any form whatsoever.

14th April—The Assembly to-day enacted into law an official Bill, which was in pursuance of the Economy Committee's recommendations and empowered the Government to levy a licence fee on factories to meet charges of supervision by Government Inspectors. During discussion on this Bill, the Opposition Leader, Rao Saheb C.Y. Rajurkar, declared, amidst laughter, that he was even to-day a primary member of the Indian National Congress. This was by way to retort to a Congress member who had invited Rao Saheb Rajurkar to join them.

On the motion of the Industries Minister, Mr. C. J. Bharuka, the House took up further consideration of the Bill (as reported by a Select Committee) seeking to enhance the tax on the sale of motor spirit and lubricants. Discussion was continued on the next day, the 15th April, when a walk-out by four Opposition members was led by Mr. Rajurkar. Mr. Rajurkar, before walking out, declared that the Government were not open to reason and the Opposition arguments, explaining why they opposed the fresh taxation measures, fell on deaf ears. Therefore, no useful purpose could be served by their participating in the discussions.

The Assembly next passed into law the Sales of Motor Spirit and Lubricants Taxation Amendment Bill, the Motor Vehicles Fees Amendment Bill, the Indian Stamp Amendment Bill and the Tobacco Bill, the four next taxation measures undertaken by the Government this year. During discussion on the Bills, members of the Muslim League and other groups from the Opposition benches

expressed their strong opposition to fresh taxation, which they maintained would ultimately fall on the poor classes. The Tobacco Bill, particularly, came in for strong criticism from Opposition members who were unanimously of the opinion that the tax would hit hard the smaller tobacco merchants and the consumers of "bidis". All the Bills were passed without any amendments.

MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION REFORM BILL

17th April—A legislation, calculated to improve the tone of civic life and ultimately to result in a more efficient and purer municipal administration in the province, was introduced to-day by the Minister, the Hon. Mr. D. P. Mishra. Explaining the urgency of the measure, the Minister drew the attention of the House to the serious state of affairs now prevalent in several municipalities, owing to friction between members of the Municipal Councils and their office-bearers, the latter being unable to function efficiently. Mr. P.B. Gole (Congress), in the course of a lengthy speech, criticised the drastic provisions of the bill and that the House should not pass such a legislation in a hurry without proper consideration. He objected particularly to the provision relating to presidential election by the general body of voters instead of by the municipal members. Next day, the 18th April, the House rejected, without a division, the motion of Mr. A. R. Razak Khan (Opposition) suggesting the circulation of the Bill for the purpose of obtaining public opinion thereon and passed the first reading. The second and third readings were gone through rapidly in ten minutes and the Bill was passed into law with a few minor alterations. During the first reading, two Muslim members from the Opposition, while acknowledging the necessity of such a legislation, pleaded for the circulation of the Bill with a view to ascertaining the viewpoints of the municipalities on the reforms proposed. Mr. P.S. Patil (Non-Brahmin), from the Opposition benches, congratulated the Minister Pandit Mishra, on bringing forward a legislation intended to check maladministration owing to party feuds in several municipal committees in the province. Pandit Mishra, replying to the debate, explained that a popular Government, representing the people, could not tolerate or ignore the mismanagement in local bodies any longer. It was

necessary for the House to pass the Bill expeditiously. Dealing with the existing proviso which requires a two-third majority for the removal of the Municipal President from his office, the Minister declared that this rule was not democratic and therefore the Bill contained a new proviso whereby a no-confidence motion, if carried by a bare majority, would result in the President's removal from office. Pandit Mishra hoped that the proposed reforms would lead to efficient municipal administration.

THE TEMPLE ENTRY BILL

20th April—The Assembly, this evening, accepted the Premier's motion to circulate the Harijan Temple Worship (Removal of Disabilities) Bill for eliciting public opinion. Altogether a dozen members participated in a two and a half-hours' discussion on the Bill. Harijan members (Congress as well as non-Congress) expressed their dissatisfaction with the Bill which, they thought, was a half-hearted measure. They felt that, instead of doing any good to the Harijans, the measure, if passed by the House in its present form, would harm them by creating fresh obstacles to their movement to secure recognition of their right to temple-entry. Their complaint was that the Bill, being an enabling measure, would fail in its *objective*, as public temples were mostly managed by caste-Hindu trustees who refused to concede the right of entry and worship in the temples to Harijans. They were, therefore, opposed to the Bill and demanded a more progressive measure to satisfy the Harijans. The Minister, Pandit D. P. Mishra, fully recognised the intensity of the feelings of the Harijan Members of the House on the subject. He assured them that, after ascertaining public opinion on the measure, the Government would effect improvements to the Bill. He appealed to them not to oppose it. The Government preferred to secure temple-entry for Harijans by persuading caste-Hindus of compelling them by statute to throw open the temples, for, legal compulsion would result in violence and conflict, frustrating their objective. Pandit Shukla, speaking later, explained that the Bill was intended to remove external barriers in the way of Harijans entering temples. At present, legislation, he held, could not and did not solve all their difficulties and remove their disabilities immediately. The pace of

reform must necessarily be slow, and public opinion had to be ascertained at every stage o a social reform measure of this kind.

Earlier, the Debt Relief Bill was passed into law on the Revenue Minister, Mr. S. V. Gokhale's motion, without any vital changes. The House was then adjourned sine die.

II

AUTUMN SESSION— NAGPUR-2ND TO 18TH AUGUST 1939

Land Revenue Amendment Bill

The Autumn session of the Central Provinces Legislative Assembly commenced at Nagpur on the 2nd August 1939. The attendance was thin. Official business was transacted during the sitting, which lasted two hours. Seven bills were passed into law.

During discussion on the Bill amending the C.P. Land Revenue Act, 1917, which gives power to the Government to order direct payment of land revenue due from "malik makbuza" lands instead of through "malguzars", the spokesmen of the "malguzars" contended that it amounted to a breach of contract between the Government and the "malguzars" regarding the collection of land taxes. The Revenue Minister, Mr. S. V. Gokhale, replying, pointed out that the Bill was equitable in nature. he repudiated the charge of breach of contract and said that the "malguzars" were merely agents of the Government in collecting rent from tenant. The Government now wanted to do away with this practice and set up its own machinery for collection of rents from tenants. The Bill was passed into law.

Primary Education Amend. Bill

An important Bill which was also passed to-day, sought to amend the C.P. Primary Education Act, 1920. Under the provisions of this measure, the Provincial Government can formulate and bring into operation schemes for the spread of primary education of boys and girls of communities in particular areas, the expenses to be borne by the local bodies concerned. During discussion on this Bill.

Mr. Iftikhar Ali (Muslim League) pleaded for exclusion of girls who could not attend schools on religious grounds. The Education Minister explained that the object of the Bill was the speedy removal of illiteracy from villages. He, therefore, failed to appreciate the view-point of those who asked for exemption for girls. The nation to-day needed, said the Minister, educated mothers and, therefore, the education of girls was essential.

Other Official Bills

On the motion of the Minister, Mr. D. P. Mishra—the House passed into law an important Bill which enable the Government to introduce adult franchise for all municipalities in the province.

On the Premier, Pandit R. S. Shukla's motion the Assembly passed the Bill amending the C.P. Game Act. Tenants will now be permitted to shoot wild animals, thus enabling them to protect their crops.

Tenancy Amendment Bill

3rd August—The Assembly rejected to-day Rao Saheb D. D. Rajurkar's motion for circulation of the Tenancy Amendment Bill. Mr. S. V. Gokhale, Revenue Minister, refuting the Opposition charge, said that the Government was not rushing the measure through and were referring it to a select committee. He added that it was to improve the land and remove the slavery of the tenant that the measure had been undertaken. The Government did not wish to deprive "malguzars" of their rights. The House, thereafter, took up the Revenue Minister's motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee, and adjourned.

Money-Lenders' Amendment Bill

5th August—The Assembly transacted non-official business to-day by passing into law Mr. Rajendra Singha's Money lenders' Amendment Bill with an amendment that the Act shall not apply to proprietors. who have advanced grain or money exclusively to any of his tenants for seed, land improvement or agricultural operations.

Minimum Wages Bill

The Opposition suffered a defeat by 24 votes to 64 when it passed for division Mr. G. S Page's motion for reference to a select committee the Minimum Wages Bill. The Bill proposed that every male labourer shall be paid at least 10 annas per day and every female labourer 6 annas and restricting the hours of work to eight. The Hon. Mr. Bharuka, opposing the Bill, said that the Government was very sympathetic towards the labourers but the fixing of a minimum wage for all parts of the province would tell on their industries as they had to face a keen competition and the whole agricultural structure would collapse. Further, if the Bill was passed, the Government would be required to spend 40 lakhs of rupees more on industrial labour for their work.

Minimum Wage Fixing Machinery Bill

Mr. V. R. Kalappa (Congress) next moved that the Minimum Wage Fixing Machinery Bill be referred to a select committee. Mr. L. H. Bartlett raised a point of order that the Bill came within the purview of the federal legislation list as it referred to labour in mines, hence it was ultra vires of this legislature, which the Speaker, Mr. G. S. Gupta ruled out. Rao Sahib Rajurkar, leader of the Opposition, supporting the Bill suggested that the local bodies and the P.W. D. should be exempted from the operation of the Bill.

Municipal Roads—Adj. Motion

7th August—The dissolution of the Kamptee Municipality formed the subject matter of an adjournment motion in the Assembly this morning. Mr. Iftikar Ali (Muslim League) sought the adjournment of the House to discuss "the undemocratic policy of the Government" pursued in regard to municipal committees of the province, particularly in dissolving the Municipal Committee at Kamptee. The Hon. Mr. D.P. Mishra, Minister for Local Self-Government, opposed the admission of the motion, on the ground that it was vague and did not refer to any particular municipality and cited Kamptee merely by way of illustration. The Hon. Mr. G. B. Gupta, Speaker of the Assembly, admitted the motion. But the

mover obtained the support of only 21 members. The minimum being 23, the motion fell through. The House thereafter continued discussion of non-official Bills.

Agrarian Distress

8th August—In the course of the discussion on non-official resolutions to-day, a reference was made to the distress prevailing in the province. The general deficiency in rainfall in the province had caused considerable uneasiness in rural areas. In several places field labourers had left the villages in search of other work. Reports of scarcity of fodder had also been received. From certain parts of the province requests had been received by the Government to organise relief. Conditions were reported to be worse in the Berar and the Nagpur divisions than in other parts. Mr. S. V. Gokhale, Minister for Revenue, replying to the debate on the resolution, referred to above, said that the premises on which it was based were wrong. The outturn of crops, taken as a whole, during the current year, was not very much less than that of last year. This year, however, happened to be unfortunately one of those in which estimates turned out to be wrong; but the conditions of the year were very peculiar, and to make an accurate forecast was difficult. The Minister stated that the Government had already remitted a sum of Rs. four lakhs, and suspended the collection of nearly 24 lakhs this year. Orders had been issued to the district officers to tour extensively to study the conditions. The Government, he said, were aware of the pitiable condition of the Kisans and were trying to open relief works according to the needs. The total land revenue was Rs. 2.59 crores. If their request was accepted, the Government would lose nearly 1.29 crores which would completely break the back of the Government. Mr. Khandekar suggested that a death duty should be imposed on the rich to make good the loss which would be incurred by carrying out the resolution. The resolution was by 51 to 21 votes.

The Tenancy Amendment Bill

4th August—The Assembly referred to-day to select committees the Tenancy Amendment Bill and the Municipalities Amendment Bill. The latter Bill abolishes the system of nomination.

It, however, provides that where not even one Muslim, one Harijan and woman are elected to the Municipal Committee a representative of each of the three classes be selected by the elected members. In case the latter fail to select them, the Provincial Government will have power to nominate them.

Harijan Temple Worship Bill

16th August—Two important legislative measures, namely, the Harijan Temple Worship (Removal of Disabilities) Bill and the Vidyamandir Bill were referred to select committees to-day. The former had been framed on the lines of the Bombay and Madras Temple Entry Bills. While the Harijan members of the Opposition opposed it, as they thought it fell short of their demands, those on the Congress benches supported the measure. Premier R. S. Shukla, replying to the debate, said that a province like Madras, which was known for its orthodoxy had opened temples and asked if they would not be thrown open in this province. He informed the House that out of 41 official opinions 39 were in favour and amongst the non-officials a vast majority supported the proposed bill. The Premier assured the Harijan members that the Government would do everything possible to ameliorate their condition and wished that those who had opposed the Bill would also join hands with the Government.

The Vidya Mandir Bill

The Vidya Mandir Bill, which had been the subject of severe criticism at the hands of the Muslims, brought forth to-day an attack on the syllabus, but the Speaker holding that they could not go into the merits of the Bill and the Premier's statement that the question of syllabus was still under consideration, cut short the attack.

Collection of Statistics Bill

The House next passed into law the Collection of Statistics Bill, Grants-in-Aid to Local Bodies Bill and Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories (Amendment) Bill. The last Bill aimed at regulating rates by appointing rate-fixing committees which will prescribe maximum rates for ginning and pressing. As this novel

measure involves certain amount of interference with the industry, the Government are restricting its operation for five years at the end of which the position would be reviewed.

The Village Sanitation and the Public Management (Amendment) Bill was circulated while the lion, Mr. S.D. Gokhale, did not proceed with the Berar Land Revenue Code (Amendment) Bill in view of the prevailing distress there.

18th August—The Municipalities and Local Self-Government Amendment Bills were passed into law without a division. By these measures, nominations to local bodies will be abolished. The House then adjourned sine die.

WINTER SESSION-NAGPUR— 1ST NOV. TO 8TH NOV. 1939

The Vidya Mandir Bill (Contd.)

The attempts of the Opposition to hold up legislation were foiled to-day when the House commenced its Winter Session at Nagpur on the 1st November 1939. Mr. Khaparde (University Independent) said that he learnt from the press that the Ministry proposed to resign on November 4. If that was so, he appealed to the Government not to rush through any legislation controversial in character and which may not be to the liking of their successors. Mr. Rajurkar, leaders of the Opposition, also joined in the appeal. Mr. Rauf Shah, Leader of the league Party, asked the Ministry to follow the Bombay Ministry's example in this matter. The Premier, Pandit R. S. Shukla, after some discussion, announced that he was unmoved by the appeal.

The Hon. Mr. S. v. Gokhale, Education Minister, then moved consideration of the Vidya Mandir Bill as reported by the Select Committee. Mr. T. J. Kedar raised a point of order as to the legality of moving the Bill, which, he contended, was a financial measure and could not be moved without the consent and recommendation of the Governor. The point of order was ruled out by the Speaker.

2nd November—The Assembly passed into to-day the Vidya Mandir Bill, as amended by the Select Committee, by 62 votes to 19, after which it took up consideration of the Tenancy Bill. Opposition

to the Bill was based mainly on the ground that it created denominational institutions, namely Vidya Mandirs and Madinatulims, which would foster a religious bias and retard the national unity. Mr. Abdur Rahman Khan (Muslim League) appealed to the Governor to use his power to protect the rights of minorities and not to give his assent to the Bill. The Hon. Mr. S. V. Gokhale, Minister of Education, reminded the House that the Government had not departed from the agreement reached with the Muslims on the subject. He appealed to the Muslims and other oppositionists to extend their full co-operation in the cause of the spread of literacy throughout the province. The Bill, he added, facilitate the establishment of Vidya Mandirs and Madinatulims in villages for the spread of literacy by establishing one school in every village managed by a village committee. Up-to-date, 100 Vidya Mandirs had been established on the initiative of the Government. The scheme was not intended to supplant the normal educational activity of the Government or local bodies, but the Bill intended to give corporate existence to those managing Vidya Mandirs and make them accountable in law. The Minister pointed out that the Bill did not debar a Muslim joining a Vidya Mandir or a Hindu joined a Madinatulim. The naming of the institution would depend on the wishes of the donor.

The Tenancy Bill

On the ground that the Government had said that if the Tenancy Bill was not passed, all labour would be lost, the Speaker, Mr. G. D. Gupta, suspended the Standing Order requiring the lapse of ten days between the publication of the Select Committee report on the Bill and the taking up of its consideration. The Hon. Mr. Mehta, Law Minister, on behalf of the Government, argued that nothing would be gained by prolonging the agony of the tenants and others whose interests were affected by the measure. Mr. R. R. Rajurkar, Leader of the Opposition, moved for circulation of the Bill.

2nd November—The Assembly divided five times to-day in the course of the discussion on the Bill, the proportion of voting on the whole being four to one in favour of the Government. "You are

practising a camouflage on Malguzars by restraining their rights bit by bit. If you are not giving sufficient compensation now, what guarantee is there that you will accede to their just demand in case of absolute abolition in future", asked Mr. G. M. Chitnaris, opposing the Revenue Member's motion that the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill be taken into consideration at once. Khan Bahadur Hidayat Hussain warned the Government that a measure passed in such haste would lead to class war. Mr. S. V. Gokhale, Minister for Revenue, said that, class war was not caused by a measure of this kind. On the contrary, it would obviate class war and lead to general contentment. Refuting the charge of haste, the Minister said the measure was such as could not be postponed.

Resolution of War

4th November—For the first time in its history, the Assembly held a morning sitting to-day to facilitate the disposal of business. The whole of the morning was devoted to the discussion of the amendments to the premier's resolution, most of which were negatived. In the afternoon, it was expected that the C.P. Tenancy Amendment Bill would be passed, but the Government decided to postpone its consideration to a future date.

Of the eleven amendments to the Premier's war resolution, only two, namely, those moved by Mr. Rauf Shah, Muslim League leader, and by Mr. Thakur Chedilal, Chief Whip of the Congress Party, were held to be in order. Mr. Rauf Shah's amendment underwent certain drafting changes. Mr. Chedilal's amendment was held to be in order despite the objection of Mr. T. J. Kedar that there was no need to express confidence in the Ministry while calling upon them to resign. The debate on the amendment evoked the remark from Mr. B. G. Khaparde that "the Congress ministries did not come into office nor are they going out of office. They were put into office and are being taken away from office." (Laughter).

Speaking on the War resolution, the Premier, Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla traced the developments leading up to the entry of India in the war and said that of all the members of the British Commonwealth, it was India and India alone which had been dragged into the war without a single Indian having been so much as

consulted on the matter. "Nothing in recent times has brought home to us, as this act of the British Government, the inferiority of the status that India occupies in the so-called British Commonwealth of Nations" he declared. Critically analysing the statements made by H. E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, the Premier said that they would be failing in their duty if they did not take note of these pronouncements and did not voice the disappointment and resentment which they had created in the minds of the people of these provinces whom they represented in this House. The Premier said that India's case was unanswerable and could not be resisted by England without exposing herself to the ridicule of the world, but unfortunately both for England and India an attempt was being made to ridicule the demand itself with the result that this country was faced with a conflict which perhaps might prove to be unprecedented in history. Referring to Sir Samuel Hoare's remarks in the House of Commons that he did not desire the waste of all those efforts which he and other British statesmen had made to bring to an end and grim chapters of the non-co-operation and to make it easier for Indians and the British to work together, the Premier said that he had hoped that "those grim chapters" had actually ended and that India would get her birthright without any further struggle and suffering. It was in that hope that they had accepted office in 1937 and it was in that hope that they had worked night and day not only to ameliorate the lot of the suffering people but also to dissipate the doubts, if they really existed, of the British people that Indians could successfully shoulder responsibility for managing their finances and maintaining law and order in their own country.

"The fact that we have proved our fitness for self-government has not brought us nearer our goal. Now another bogey has been trotted out before us—the bogey of minorities," added Pandit Shukla. "By now, who is so ignorant as not to know that it is nazi technique first to foster communal bitterness among a free people and then make it a reason for depriving them of their freedom". The only difference is that while the Nazis use communal differences for conquering a free nation, British statesmen are using it to perpetuate their conquest of the Indian people". The Premier said that the Communal problem not being peculiar to India, could be solved here as it had been solved elsewhere. There must be a reasonable solution

which could be found, provided the third party left the field or came forward as a peacemaking factor. "But unfortunately for us, the third part is not a disinterested entity, but one which consciously or unconsciously takes advantages of these communal bickerings." To lay emphasis on the communal question at this juncture was short-sighted policy and was as dangerous as playing with fire. "I could have understood Germany trying on her own account to stir up communal trouble with a view to creating a state of anarchy in this country." declared the Premier. "What is surprising is that it is British Statesmen themselves who are playing the enemy's game." The Premier warned that "the enemies of England, be they open or convert, will have ample material in India to work upon. Many amongst the communalists, be they Hindus or Muslims, have a fascination for Fascist theories. Moreover, thanks to the unthinking attitude of England, a large number of people, sincere in their own way and drawn from all communities, look upon Russia and her Communist theory as a panacea for all ills of this unhappy country. If the British Government, the princes and various communities cannot solve the Indian problem, more and more people in desperation will look for a solution from quarters which we have learnt to hate but which the younger generation is learning to look up with expectancy."

Continuing, the Premier said. "Sir Samuel Hoare has been pleased to divide Indian into Congress India and non-Congress India. He will very soon discover that the only stabilising factor in present-day India is the Congress and any weakening of its influence will open the floodgates of Nazism, Fascism and Bolshevism. It would be a thousand pities it the British Government in its anxiety to stay in India yet awhile and if the communally-minded men in their zeal for a few crumbs so far forget themselves as to destroy the Indian National Congress, which, in my opinion, is a second Himalayas which protects India from the inroads of foreign Nazi and Bolshevik hordes." Concluding the Premier said, "I would only ask Sir Samuel Hoare to remember that the prospect of repression he holds out for us may or may not break the spirit of this nation, but it will certainly provide German propagandists with stories of atrocities. Repression, if and when practised, will shock the conscience of the world much more than German atrocities as it

would be practised upon an unarmed population and upon non-violent resisters. Yes, it seems that another and a more grim period in the history of British rule in India is in sight and the nation will need all the spiritual courage that it can muster to meet the threat given by Sir Samuel Hoare on behalf of the British Government. I have no doubt that if the threat does materialise and we are forced to resist it we shall be embarking upon the task with easy conscience. Our objective being nothing else than our own freedom and that of other suppressed nations, our weapon being nothing but complete non-violence, we can go forward on our path with the conviction that truth and justice are on our side, and through truth and justice might suffer a temporary setback, still they are bound to triumph in the end."

Mr. Rauf Shah, moving the Muslim League amendment, regretted that the Premier had called the minority problem a bogey. The Government had failed to create confidence in the minds of minorities and Muslims were generally afraid that they were not properly protected. He added that during the two and a half years the Congress had held office, they should have solved the minority question.

While Mr. Rauf Shah referred to the judicious settlement of the communal question in Egypt. Mr. Pande (Congress) asked whether he was prepared to give the same concession to non-Muslims in provinces like the Punjab as Zaglul Pasha had given in Egypt, to which Mr. Rauf Shah replied that he did not belong to that province (laughter).

The discussion had not concluded when the House adjourned till the 6th November when Mr. Abdur Rauf Shah, Leader of the Muslim League party in the Assembly, continuing his unfinished speech, criticised the present day leadership of the Congress and contended that their vision and outlook were narrow. If Mr. C. R. Das, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and such others had been in the Congress, Muslims would not have left it.

Mrs. Kale: Are you ready to follow Mr. Subhas Bose?

Mr Rauf Shah: You give the leadership of the Congress to him and you will see. *continuing*. Mr. Rauf Shah said that he preferred the Hindu Mahasabha to the Congress, because it was more honest

in its attitude towards Muslims, while the Congress indulged in camouflage. He concluded by saying that the Congress was denying to Muslims that freedom of opinion and democracy which it was demanding of Britain..

Rao Sahib Rajurkar, Leader of the Opposition, moving his amendment, expressed dissatisfaction with the statements made by Lord Zetland and Sir Samuel Hoare, which, he said, were not calculated to inspire a feeling of co-operation in the minds of Indians, though their sympathies were undoubtedly with the Allies in the war.

Mr. T. J. Kedar (University Vice-Chancellor) said that in regard to the form and content of Dominion Status, according to constitutional law, it was as was pointed out by Lord Samuel in the Commons debate, the majority community who had a right to consulted and the minority had no locus standi. It was only after that form had been settled that the minorities could claim protection, not from an alien authority but from the majority and to insist that protection should be adequate and satisfactory. He thought it was a mistake for Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Rajendra Prasad to have accepted the invitation to meet Mr. Jinnah. The bane of India was that the minority communities could approach the British Government and make common cause against the majority. Concluding, Mr. Kedar said that if Indian Muslims did not consider themselves Indians first, they had no right to be heard and he reminded them that the aggressor on India, whoever he was, whether a Muslim or any other, would be met with resistance. Mr. Kedar asserted that so long as unity was made a condition precedent to the grant of Dominion Status, that unity would never be achieved.

Mr. B. G. Khaparde (University representative) said there was no limit to asking but there was a limit to giving. The minority in India wanted to rule the majority, because it was a minority. Mr. Khaparde moved an amendment that the Ministry should, instead of resigning, stick to office and take steps to impart military training to make the people fit for self-defence. He said that he was himself once a non-co-operator but he had soon realised the futility of non-co-operation. If there was no chance of their wishes being fulfilled by remaining in office, they might still remain in office and do something which would make the fulfilment of those wishes a

possibility. He pointed out that by absenting themselves from the Central Assembly, Congressmen had helped the passage of the Defence of India Act and wondered why they were now complaining that the powers and activities of the Provincial Governments had been curtailed.

Dr. N. B. Khare, ex-Congress Premier, moving his amendment asking members of the majority party to resign attacked the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi. He blamed Gandhiji for making the Congress weak.

Thakur Chedilal moved his amendment expressing full confidence of the House in the Ministry and asking the Ministry to resign.

Mr. H. J. Khandekar (Harijan), the Vice-President of the Provincial Forward Bloc, felt that had the Congress High Command followed Mr. Bose's suggestion about giving six months' ultimatum to England, the Viceroy statement of October 18 would have been different. The debate had not concluded when the House adjourned.

7th November—Mr. L. H. Bartlett, representing the European Group, remarked to-day that modern methods of warfare had brought India very much closer to Europe than even before and she could not keep aloof. Under the modern democratic form of Government, he said, it was not always possible to consist representatives of popular opinion before taking measures. Statesmen had to be guided by previous expressions of public feeling. Previously India hand united by expressed disapproval of Nazism and as such it was not difficult to understand the measures adopted by the Government. If these measure were not taken, the Government would have laid itself open to the charge of neglecting its duty of protecting the country. Referring to the ordinances, Mr. Barrlett observed that in times of great stress and emergency such things were inevitable and the restrictions imposed in India were not so severe as those imposed in England. Regarding restriction of the power of all Provincial Governments of which the Congress had complained, he failed to understand their attitude. If they were in the position of the Government of India, they would have acted in exactly the same way.

Rev. Rogers (Anglo-Indian) suggested the formation of a National Government in this hour of crisis.

Mr. Gavai said that the demand for a declaration of war aims in their application to India was good but untimely. By helping England, India would be helping herself.

Rev. Rogers observed that merely because England had not conceded India's demand, it was wrong for the Congress to go into the wilderness.

Mr. M. M. Haq (Muslim League) believed that democracy had failed under the present constitution. He alleged that liberty of religion and liberty of the Press had not been maintained by the Government and cited the case of the Hitavada from whom, he said, facilities had been withdrawn.

Mrs. S. Chauhan could not understand how while Britain was fighting for democracy, she could withhold independence from India and why India had been declared a belligerent country without her consent. She reiterated the Congress demand for a Constituent Assembly.

Mr. Abdul Rahman Khan (League) said if anyone had any complaint against British Imperialism it was the Muslims as history would show. He thought Muslims could protect themselves. It was the Hindus who wanted British Protection. The Muslims had acquired a separatist mentality because of the treatment they had received at the hands of the Congress.

Messers. Jakatdar, V. R. Kalappa, A. Saigal, and Agnibhoj and Mrs. Durgabai Joshi (Congress members) supported the Premier's resolution while Messers. Gulam Ahmed Hussian (Muslim League) and Khobergade (Harijan Ambedkarite) opposed it. The discussion had not concluded when the House adjourned.

8th November—After four days' debate, the Assembly passed this evening the Premier's war crisis resolution as amended without a division. The amendments accepted were those moved by Thakur Chedilal (Congress) expressing the fullest confidence in the Ministry and calling upon the Ministers to resign and Mr. Khandekar's (Scheduled Caste) amendment regarding safeguards to minorities. The Muslim League

amendment was lost by 60 votes against seven. Other amendments were either lost or withdrawn.

Mr. K. P. Pande, Mr. M. Y. Shareef and Dr. Mohodaya spoke in favour of the Premier's resolution, which was opposed by Mr. Iftikar Ali, and Khan Bahadur Mirza Rahman Beg.

The Hon'ble Pandit D. P. Mishra said that they did not want Swaraj at once but an assurance of independence after the war, if unity between Hindus and Muslims was brought about. He declared that the Muslim League was not representative of Muslim opinion in the provinces. He appealed to the House to sink their differences.

Premier Shukla said that they had done their best and asked the house to support his resolution. After the resolution had been passed, Mr. G. S. Gupta, the Speaker adjourned the House sine die.

12

The Political Scene

When the Congress Ministry resigned office in November 1939, little did they or the nation foresee the momentous changes which the world was to witness in the succeeding years. The fortunes of the war swung from one side to the other. Historic cities fell; mighty nations surrendered; and at one moment the existence of the British Empire itself was in peril. But, by 1944, the situation for the Allies definitely began to be promising, and in May 1945 victory was achieved in Europe, swiftly followed by the defeat of Japan in the East. This coincided with the formation of the Labour Ministry in England and the decision to hold fresh elections in India, both for the Central and Provincial Assemblies. The Indian National Congress, which through those dark and bitter years of suffering, had kept alive the spirit of Indian independence never for a moment losing faith in the high destiny of our country, resolved to fight the elections and obtain afresh from the people a mandate to lead the country through the final stages of the struggle for freedom. In December 1945 the Congress own the elections to Central Assembly with a huge majority. Everywhere, except in some communal constituencies, Congressmen were returned with overwhelming support. Equally spectacular was the success in the provincial elections in April 1946, which returned in all but three provinces, decisive Congress majority. In Central Provinces and Berar the success was phenomenal, the Congress capturing 94 seats in a house of 112. It was in no mood of exultation that the Congress now came to power, but rather in a spirit of determination and dedication born out of their experience during the years that they were in exile, a determination to see that this country, after so much sacrifice and sorrow, shall not again go through the valley of the shadow of death such as it had

gone through in 1942 and after. The triumphant manner in which the Congress returned after elections was also a timely indication of the popular will, and it is presumed that the meaning of it was not lost upon the Cabinet Mission which had then arrived in Indian and was holding discussions with the Viceroy.

On the 27th April 1946 to the relief and jubilation of the country, the Government under Section 93 which during its long and inglorious existence had cast a paralysing shadow upon all aspects of national life, came to an end, and the popular Government under the leadership of Pandit Ravi .Shankar Shukla was installed in office. While the people rightly rejoiced, those who shouldered the responsibility of office were more impressed with the intricate and baffling problems which faced them. Let it be remembered that a long and exacting war had just ended which had sorely taxed the resources of the world. The post-war period anywhere is a trying time, but in..........there was, besides, the ex gone through; on top of this came the grim tragedy of Bengal Famine and food shortage everywhere. Corruption had crept into every sphere of life. It was to such an inheritance that the Ministry came in 1946. The first press statement issued by the Honourable Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla gave an indication both of his awareness of the complicated problems and of his determination to tackle them. He said, "Not only have the past errors of omission and commission to be rectified, but corruption and black-markets which have choked the even-handed justice have to be put down with a stern hand....Famine faces us starkly and people have been suffering from shortages of the bare necessaries of life. The first and foremost task of this Government will be effectively to fight these problems and whatever comes within the limited ambit of the so-called Provincial Autonomy will be undertaken by this Government, and I assure all concerned that no stone will be left unturned to make this practice richer and happier".

Statement made at a Press Conference on the 27th April 1946.

As a first step, and to create an atmosphere necessary for enthusiastic work, the Ministry ordered the release of all political prisoners, withdrew all warrants against absconders in political cases, and took up the question of remission of the collective fines levied by the previous regime. At the same time Government

examined the numerous cases of printing presses and publishers of newspapers who had been made to deposit securities by the previous regime, and refunded securities amounting to Rs. 8,250, and also lifted the ban which had been imposed on fourteen political publications.

The situation which faced the Ministry when they took office was one which might have overwhelmed most persons. They were called upon to take charge of the wheel when the country was rapidly heading towards the precipice. They had, therefore, for sheer preservation, to step on the brakes firmly and effectively before they could direct the machine into the right road to prosperity. The first sounds one would hear in such a crisis would naturally be the grinding and jamming of the brakes. It is only afterwards that one may hear the smooth healthy sound of accelerating speed along the right path. But there are always some people who do not like the sound of the brakes. Who will stand on the brink of an abyss, and urge us to "Go straight ahead"! God had created the "Paradise of Fools" for the benefit of such.

The first task of the Ministry was to take a firm grip of the situation. There were problems enough from every many directions to strain the powers of the ablest. Since January 1946 the tension between the Maharas and the Caste Hindu labourers in the city of Nagpur has steadily increased resulting in serious clashes in Indora and Panchpaoli areas. Though momentarily suppressed, the fellings had continued to smoulder, and in March 1946 and again on a more serious scale on the 12th April 1946, clashes and riots had broken out between the two sections, and the police had been compelled to open fire to disperse the rioters. The echoes of these disturbances were still ringing in the ears of the people when the Congress Ministry took office. Their first task was to bring peace in the troubled areas of the city. At the same time the Scheduled Castes Federation which met at Bhandara indulged in the usual tirade against Hindus and roundly denounced the Poona Pact. Then came the blood-curdling news of the massacres at Calcutta on the 16th August 1946 which the Muslim League observed as Direct Action Day. The stories of the atrocities committed sent a wave of horror throughout the country and resulted in an increase of tension in the communal relation in this province.

It was in such an atmosphere that the Interim Government was formed at New Delhi under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, thus removing to some extent the anomalous position of an irresponsible bureaucracy at the Centre and popular ministries in the provinces. The first step was thus taken towards responsible government. The Muslim League which had at first kept out of the Interim Government finally joined it in the middle of October 1946, and hopes were expressed that the daily business of administration transacted round a common table would bring the two parties together in a spirit of understanding. But such hopes proved to be illusory. No sooner had people begun to recover from the shock of the Great Calcutta killing than news came of harrowing tales of persecution and torture of the Hindu minority in Noakhali and Tippera in East Bengal. Mahatma Gandhi whose soul suffered crucifixion at the sight of such internecine slaughter, went to Noakhali on a mission of peace and comfort and produced for a time a sense of security in those villages. But more horrors appeared elsewhere. The Hindus in Bihar incensed at the happenings in Calcutta and Noakhali attacked the Muslim population at several places; but the prompt action taken by Pandit Nehru and the Congress leaders brought the situation swiftly under control in Bihar. In such a vitiated atmosphere, with the Coalition Government at the Centre apparently divided within itself, with suspicion and dread lurking in the heart of every India, be he Hindu or Muslim, it is not to be wondered at that everywhere in the country there was great nervousness, a feeling as if we were sitting on a volcano which might erupt at any moment.

It is common feature in the history of nations that in periods of great and far-reaching changes, the turbulent elements derive a new lease of life. The prospect of vast constitutional reforms, the uncertainty of the exact shape that they would take, weakening of the central administration which was sadly divided, and a general state of political fever in the country, provided a propitious atmosphere for disorder to lift its head in many places. In our own province Government were faced with threats to ordered progress from various directions. The communist elements which had always eagerly watched for opportunity to foment trouble found in the ignorant working classes willing tools for their purpose. The

sweepers of the Municipality went on strike in Nagpur causing considerable annoyance and danger to health to the public. Workers in the Government Press, the staff of the Transport Companies and even primary school teachers played into the hands of the communists. To add to the confusion, the Scheduled Castes Federation launched a satyagraha during the session of the Assembly and hundreds of them had to be detained in jails during the session. There were indications to show that the communists were out for a trail of strength with the Government. At the same time evidences indicated that the Rashtriya Swayan Sewak Sangh was rapidly growing in numbers and more centres were being opened in the province. Government met these perils with determination and clemency. When the sweepers and primary school teachers, who had become sadder and wiser after their demonstrations, decided to withdraw the strike, those who had been detained were promptly ordered to be released and Government further ordered that those involved in textile strikes and persons detained under the Public Safety Act be released an the fines realized be remitted. These concessions did not, however, apply to persons convicted of actual violence.

The Declaration by His Majesty's Government on the 20th February 1947 of their intention to quit India by the end of June 1948 was the signal for widespread communal riots in Punjab. As an indirect consequence of this, there were sporadic troubles in different parts of the province and many illicit consignments of knives and lethal weapons were intercepted by the police. No Government could have watched these movements aimed at destroying the very foundations of orderly society without taking prompt and drastic action in the interest of peace and progress. It redounds to the credit of the Provincial Government that timely measures were taken and vast powers were assumed for preventing any subversive movements developing within the province. The Central Provinces and Berar Goondas Act, and the Maintenance of Public Order Act which was later superseded by the Public Safety Act armed Government with sufficicnelty wide powers to cope with the extraordinary situation that had developed. As the Honourable Pandit D. P. Mishra said on the floor of the Assembly, "No Government deserved the confidence of the people if they did not

take every precaution for the maintenance of law and good order in times of great uncertainty, and it was in pursuance of their obligation to the people of the province that extraordinary powers had now been assumed by Government". If this province escaped many of the tragedies the afflicted every part of the country it was largely due to the foresight, political sagacity an ruthless determination of Government to make life safe for all classes of people whom they had the responsibility to guard and preserve. The arrival of Lord Louis Mountbatten as the Viceroy of India and his frank declaration concerning the transfer to powers had a wholesome effect upon the country as a whole. Events began to move rapidly and within three months of his taking office the Viceroy, simultaneously with the British Government in Parliament, made the historic announcement on the 3rd June 1947, of Government's decision to divide India into two sovereign States and transfer the entire responsibility of Government to the people of those States. While this declaration was received with enthusiasm, it was not unmixed with disappointment that the unity of India was broken. There was understandable sorrow that the country had to be divided. But in some quarters it went to the extent of blaming the leaders who had reluctantly agreed to the inevitable. Such criticism is thoughtless and uninformed; because the fact was that in view of the Muslim League's determined attitude of obstruction from within, administration had practically come to a standstill and it could not have been continued. Later events proved how expedient and necessary was the agreement to divide. For, could anyone imagine that the smooth, peaceful and satisfactory integration of hundreds of states in India would have been possible under a Coalition Government at the Centre? Forces would have worked setting up every little state against the Union, and we should have had a perpetual running sore scattered over the entire country. Further, would it every have been possible to take the police action against Hyderabad and cure that malady so swiftly if the Muslim League and continued in the Centre as part of a Government of undivided India? Let us not, therefore, imagine that the partition of the country, sad as it is, is an unmixed calamity. Coming generations viewing these events in an unemotional historical perspective will pronounce that India after partition has been welded together into a stronger unity than it had ever possessed before division. The

feelings of all nationalists may be summed up in the words of Pandit Nehru, that "while the plan cannot be palatable to any nationalist, it is perhaps the best way out of the difficult situation."

The announcement of 3rd June marked the beginning of fresh communal trouble in the Punjab. In our own province the position of Berar in relation to Hyderabad began to exercise the minds of people and the ambitious claims made by the Government of the Nizam resulted in a woresening of the situation; but all classes of opinion in Berar were united in a determination to preserve the territory against the pretentious claims of the Hyderabad Government.

On the morning of the 14th August 1947, H. E. Sir Federick Bourne relinquished office as Governor of the Province, and at five minutes past midnight of the 14th-15th August 1947, with religious solemnity and the chanting of vedic hymns, Shri Mangaldas M. Pakvasa took the oath of office as the first Governor of the Central Provinces and Berar in free India.

On the 15th August 1947, India, dismembered through it was, proudly emerged into freedom after nearly a century and a half of enslavement. In the words of Pandit Shukla "The Freedom we have won is not of any section, party or community, but for every man, woman, child who inhabits this ancient land. Now is the time when we should pledge ourselves anew to the service of our motherland and march in step without distinction of race or creed with trust in God and faith in ourselves, with goodwill to all and malice towards none to the great destiny that is awaiting us." A significant and spectacular feature of the celebrations in Nagpur was the hoisting of the National Flag by the Honourable the Premier on the holistic Sitabadi Fort which had been captured by the British after the battle of Sitabaldi in 1817. As India's flag rose up on the mast the vast concourse of people shouted "Jain Hind" greeting this symbolic expression of India's freedom.

The dawn which thus opened was sadly overcast with clouds of communal strife that broke out in all parts of the country. Punjab and the North-West Frontier were the two worst affected provinces. From both these places started the long weary trek of shattered humanity whose entire worldly possesions had been looted. and whose dear ones had been mercilessly put to the sword. The influx

of refugees was directed to various parts of India, and our Provincial Government agreed to take 10,000 refugees besides the 5,000 who had already arrived. At the same time possible danger-spots in the province were promptly searched, unlicensed arms were captured and many serious plots were unearthed in time and ring-leaders arrested.

As a consequence of vague uncertainties caused by the events that had happened, a large number of Muslims began to migrate from the province principally to Hyderabad and to a small extent to Bhopal. Government issued a communique to assure these panic-stricken people that "law-abiding citizens whether Muslims or non-Muslims had nothing to fear. It is our duty and privilege to protect their lives and property. As in the past so in the future everything possible will be done to ensure the maintenance of peace and tranquility in the province." The Honourable the Premier personally gave further assurance of full protection to Muslim population at an all-parties conference convened by him, and went to Bhopal to give similar reassuring words of counsel to those who had migrated there. The effect was immediate and by December 1947 the evacuees began to return to their homes in the province.

During these anxious days the constructive side of the administration was not neglected. Far-reaching measures were taken in the sphere of national reconstruction, the full measure of whose benefits will be unfolded only by time. The Janapada administration placed the responsibility of local Government on the people of the villages, while the Social Education Scheme aimed at giving the common man the education Scheme aimed at giving the common man the education needed for democracy and citizenship. Both these measures have within the short time that they have been in operation achieved encouraging success.

On the political side the 14 rulers of States of Chhattisgarh States Agency who were not slow to see the signs of the times, decided to accede to the province and surrendered patriotically their hereditary rights. Thus was added to the province, almost overnight, an area of 31,598 square miles, a population of about 30 lakhs and about two crores of revenue.

The political scene in the province was to a large extent dominated by the events happening at the All-India level. The accession of Kashmir and the military action which followed, the taking over of the administration of Junagadh and the march of the uprooted refugees occupied the minds of the people almost to the exclusion of all else. Then suddenly, eclipsing everything that had happened and overwhelming the whole nation in a speechless horrow came the news of Mahatma Gandhi's assassination. When the first shock of the tragedy gave place to anger, and it came to be suspected that a member of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh had done the deed, infuriated mobs attacked indiscriminately the houses of persons suspected to belong to the Sangh. Stern measures were promptly taken, and within three days the disturbances were put down, and no incidents were reported after the 4th February. All communal bodies, such as Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and the Muslim National Guard were banned and their offices searched. Government's resolve to fight all lawless elements was voiced by the Honourable Pandit D. P. Mishra who said in a speech on the 7th February, "The first requisite is internal peace and order. All ideas of private revenge should be ruthlessly discarded. We are passing through a grave crisis, graver then any we have known. Everyone should go about his avocation as usual, discharging his duties faithfully, leaving it to Government to deal with plotters, conspirators and assassins. All people should range themselves behind their Government. Thus only can Government be enabled to discharge their onerous duties in these troubled times". This fervent call found an enthusiastic response; comparative calm prevailed everywhere, and the newly formed Home Guards rose gallantly to the occasion and did yeoman service in patrolling the city and protecting the people in those troublous days.

Any objective spectator watching the events of these last three years will admit that few Governments were faced with so many issues of such complex gravity from so many directions as the Provincial and Central Governments in India were; and when it is remembered that the men who were called upon to deal with them had hardly been in office for six months or a year, and were in most cases unused to the task they had to perform, it would appear a

matter of wonder that nothing more disastrous did happen. Even the most uncharitable critic would admit that our statesmen proved conspicuously equal to their task.

Thorough all these months the attitude of Hyderabad provided a perpetual anxiety to the province. Delegations went to Delhi and returned, talks were carried on and letters exchanged, but they seemed to have no effect upon the truculence of the State Government. On the contrary behind the cloak of negotiations they were making what appeared to be warlike preparations, of which the adventurous though rather quixotic exploits of Sidney Cotton provided a curious episode. The number of refugees that now began to pour from Hyderabad into the border districts of this province at some stage exceeded the number of refugees from Pakistan, and they brought harrowing tales of persecution of Hindus in the State.

The situation could not continue in this explosive state for long. Just before Lord Mountbatten relinquished office he made a last attempt for peace but failed. The speeches made in various parts of the province on the Independence Day of 1948 gave expression to the intolerable nature of the position. They with dramatic suddenness, in the early hours of the 13th September 1948, the police action in Hyderabad was launched in which the Police and the Home Guards of the province co-operating with the army moved swiftly into the adjoining districts of Hyderabad. before people had begun to realise what was happening, the whole task was completed, and by the 17th September the work of restoring orderly Government in Hyderabad was taken up. Few people who were thrilled by the machine-like smoothness with which the action was completed were aware of the perfect planning and careful preparation that went behind it. The part played by our Police and Home Guards is one of which everyone may be proud; and we have followed it up by sending a team of our officers to help in the civil administration of Hyderabad. Much has already been done in the last six months to round up the anti-social elements, bring confidence to the people and heal the wounds of the people. We can now expect that the blessings of enlightened administration and popular government will soon be bestowed upon the State. and new era of progress and well-being for all people will be ushered in.

Three years constitute but a brief moment in the life of a nation or a state. As will be seen from the foregoing paragraphs they were years in which the tottering State cast suddenly upon the wild seas with neither compass nor guide, beset with storms and dark unseen currents, had to be kept steady on an even keel and piloted safely on a chartered course. Hostile forces were on every side. Some were the creation of the alien government that had quit the country. Others were of rank opportunists who always wait upon disordered times to reap an unblestiest. Anarchy and chaos loomed threateningly on the sky. To the men who were at the helm it was a battle for survival—survival of all that the Congress had cherished and nurtured for the last half a century and more. If the battle were lost, with it would also be lost for ever all hope of ordered progress for our country. The grim events that happened in Burma. Malaya and China were a dreadful warning. Will our statesmen be equal to the tremendous task that they had now to perform? Or, will they falter in their determination? Freedom has been won through sacrifice and suffering; but shall we be able to plant it firmly and unassailably? The answer has been provided by the last three years. All honour to those who in the face of such a crisis saw the path of duty clearly and stuck to it undaunted. Stern measures had to be taken, unsavoury powers had to be assumed, relentless battle had to be given to all forces which threatened the State. Criticism, often uncharitable, had to be faced, and that from erstwhile comrades. But the emergency demanded that all this should be faced. We are not yet out of danger. What happened in Calcutta recently in a grave symptom, and the incalculable workings of secret foes aimed at paralysing the machinery of the State demand ceaseless vigilance and preparedness. The country is resolved that our hard-won freedom shall not be thrown into a witches' cauldron prepared by the enemies of the State. The foundations of good Government have to be laid with unyielding determination. The maintenance of law and order, a primary duty of Government at all times, becomes doubly so now, and must be pursued with vigour and wisdom.

13

Law and Order

I. THE POLICE

When a country is in its natural state of peace and good order it does not bother about the police, just as a man in perfect health does not even think of the doctor. It is only when the order is upset, and disease and fever rage that a man calls for the doctor and the country stands in need of the police. When the Congress was called upon to take charge of the country, disorder and confusion were raging furiously everywhere. The erstwhile rulers seemed to have done their best to confound and baffle the newly born state. The country was like a house on fire. But even in the urgent and all-important task of putting out the fire there was no united effort within the country. The makers of Pakistan carved out their pound of India's flesh leaving behind a bleeding wound; but the trouble did not end there. The scene within India itself was disastrous. Party fought against party, province against province. Some demanded the extinction of the Brahmins; others preached the gospel of the sword and the pistol. Some sought the narrow interests from of their own community, while others, deriving theire inspiration Russia, worked for a reign of terror. Russia, worked for a reign of terror. When they discovered that their wicked deeds found little favour with the people, they went underground to pursue their nefarious activities from there. Some seemed to have gone mad with their sudden release from bondage, and the very architect of our freedom was put to death. This is the background against which the problem of law and order has to be understood. If the country was to be saved from a disastrous orgy of violence it could only be done by the prompt and efficient use of the police the pillar of British Imperialism has become, through the process of history, the sentinel of swaraj. Much

depends upon the police, and we trust they will rise equal to the occasion.

In this province, the police force consists of three categories:-

(1) District Executive Force which performs the normal duties of policing the entire province consisting of 14,384 subordinate officers and rank and file spread out in the districts and sub-division of the province.

(2) The Special Armed Force which is primarily intended for dealing with serious breaches of peace and is not ordinarily employed for normal police duties. It consists of 5,096 men dividend into nearly 33 battalions and they are located for the sake of convenience at Jubbulpore, Chhindwara and Raigarh, from where they may be called to action in any emergency.

(3) The Special Armed Constabulary which is employed by Central Government on special duty, but is recruited provincially. This force consists of 1,669 men.

The cost of the entire force for the year 1949-50 is expected to be Rs. 240 lakhs. Critics often wax eloquent disapproving the increased expenditure on Police. They do so either out of ignorance or malice. When the head of a family is stricken with disease the major part of the family budget inevitably goes to paying the doctor's bills. Perhaps the family has to deny themselves expenditure on medicines. The critical situation demands this disproportionate expense. When the bread-winner is restored to health the budget takes its normal shape and the doctor's bills become either nominal or non-existent.

If our police expenditure is unusually large it is because of the present disease in the body-politic which needs urgent attention. Expenditure on security is bound to be large at such times and ought to have the highest priority. Persons who decry such expenditure are no friends of the country. When normal health is restored to the country, then would be the time to re-adjust the budget on more balanced lines.

In the past the police suffered from certain disadvantage for most of which circumstances were largely responsible. The policeman was a visible and obtrusive symbol of a foreign

government. He was the long arm of oppression who, in popular opinion, took a fiendish delight in persecuting the people and their leaders. A former chronicler of the British administration laments the cold isolation in which the policeman was left by the people of the country. "The most serious handicap under which the policeman in India labours is the fact that he cannot rely to the same extent as his comrade in other countries, upon the sympathy and the co-operation of the individual citizen." Owing to the political situation and the unpleasant, and in the opinion of the people unpatriotic duties that the policeman was called upon to perform, there was in the past an absence of close and effective co-operation between the police and the public, and the work of the policeman was regarded by the average citizen with aloofness if not with antipathy. Another factor which prejudicially affected the status of the police in the past was the fact that the ordinary constable was generally ignorant and illiterate. Hence it was impossible for him to play the benevolent, and often paternal role which policemen in other countries, especially the London Policeman, play. Yet another significant fact was that the officers' ranks in the police were largely filled by foreigners, and the Indian was relegated to the lowest places.

In all these directions reforms have been swiftly and steadily introduced. The Indianisation of the police service began in small driblets with the Lee Commission recommendations, which introduced a certain percentage of national element in the officers' rank; but after 1946 the foreigners rapidly began to quit India, and the present position is that all officers from the highest to the lowest are Indians. This by itself has had a psychological effect in making the people look upon the police if not with friendliness at least without antipathy.

At the same time, a steady attempt is being made to see that the constable who enters the rank and file possesses a basic literacy, has the training in character-building, politeness and tact, and acquires a sound sense of responsibility. The Constables Training Schools at Nagpur and Jubbulpore formerly used to turn out 100 constable after every six months, so that the annual output was never more than 200 or 300 trained constables. But now the period has been reduced to four months of intensive training and a batch of 100 constables is

trained every four months from each centre. Thus the output of trained constables per year is 600. The training schools not only teach them the minimum requirement of reading and writing, but also give them vigorous physical training on the pattern of the army, and periodical lectures on civic and moral subjects. Thus the constable who comes out of these schools combines in himself the virtues of a citizen and the authority of the police. He is being taught to temper force with judgement, and not only deal firmly with the delinquent but to succour the weak and helpless. These training centres are to be enlarged and multiplied so that it may be possible for every recruit to obtain the benefits of this training; and we may look forward to the time in the near future when he policeman in India will be, like his comrade in the West, the strong and benevolent protector of the people.

There are other significant reforms which have been recently introduced in the police force to indicate that thy have to play a new part in free India. The gulf that once separated the police from the people is being gradually narrowed down, and bridges of co-operation and mutual trust are being thrown across it. Reference may be made to one such reform which should serve as a pointer. At three railway stations in the province, namely, Bina, Itarsi and Khandwa, policemen wearing a conspicuous arm-band inscribed "May I Help" are posted, whose duty it is to go to the assistance of any passenger who may need their help for obtaining information about trains, accommodation, dharamshala, refreshment rooms, etc. The men are chosen for their qualities of politeness, fact and intelligence, and many a traveller who at first was taken aback by an approaching policeman has found in him a helpful and sympathetic friend. If this experiment is found successful it will be extended to other stations and bus termini.

It takes time to live down the reputation of the past when the policemen were thought of as mercenaries in the service of an alien paymaster. But it must be repeatedly emphasised and brought home by example that the policemen today are the custodians of the people, and they consider it their duty to preserve with constant and unremitting care the hard-won freedom to be ever vigilant to detect the secret and subversive forces that threaten to overturn the newly

established government, and what is perhaps more efficacious than detection, to prevent well in time these forces taking hold anywhere in the province.

Rarely have the police had to face such a succession of grave threats to peace as they did during the last three years. First, early in 1946, came the tension between Mahars and caste Hindus among the textile workers; then followed in August 1946, the repercussions of the Calcutta massacres and grave communal tension; then the Satyagraha of the Scheduled Castes Federation; later, in 1947, the mounting tragedy in Punjab and the partition of India brought very serious threats to life and property and numerous plots to smuggle arms and ammunition; the Muslim migration from the province; the constant menace from Hyderabad and its Razakars; the nuisance of the Communities fomenting trouble among the labour classes in many essential industries, and then, with the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, the flood of fury let loose on a certain community; the underground activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and the Communities. The catalogue is large and formidable; and it is serious enough to overwhelm any strong, established government. But ours was a government that had just taken office; they were handicapped by the absence of many senior officers who had either opted for Pakistan or had retired. Secret foes lurked in many quarters to seize any opportunity to embarrass Government. Beset with such dangers it would have been criminal folly if Government did not arm themselves strongly and patriotically for the protection of the province. To meet this crisis the Central Province and Berar Goondas Act of 1946 gave them the power in any area where by a special proclamation this Act was made applicable, to apprehend the Goodnas and restrict their movements. The Districts Magistrate would use this power with great discretion, and a safeguard was provided by making his orders apealable to Provincial Government. Similarly, the powers under Section 144 of Criminal Procedure Code were used to prevent persons from carrying arms, lathis, etc., and to prohibit sale of arms and ammunition during a period of emergency. The Public Safety Act which came into being because the old Defence of India Rules were withdrawn though the emergency continued to be more grave than even during war time gave Government, where it was found

absolutely necessary, power to detain persons whose activities were a threat to peace and order.

Notice may here be taken of the criticism which has persisted in certain quarters that the operation of the Public Safety Act has militated against civil liberty. The fitting answer to such criticism was given once for all by the Honourable Home Minister in a recent broadcast: "Some of these critics are honest men but unacquainted with the reality of the situation. They repeat 'Civil Liberty' ad nauseum. They forget that these special measures are being used only against those who indulge in criminal liberties which would imperil everyone else's civil liberty. Another class of critics are those who want to spread disorder deliberately and weaken the Government in the name of civil liberty. They want to rob the country of its freedom and the individual of his liberty by the use of violence and terrorism. No sane Government will be of them. To pay heed to their criticism would be to shake India's Independence b the very roots."

It may at once be admitted that no Government, much less a government administered by persons whose life mission has been a crusade for preserving freedom of speech and action, would like to make use of an Act which curtails the liberty of the individual. At the same time, any one who has been an unprejudiced observer of the events of the last three years will recognise the dire danger which every day and from every quarter threatened the very existence of an ordered State. And it is a primary and over-riding duty of Government, as any student of political science will know, not put in danger. If the pubic Safety Act is retained on the Statute Book a day longer than is absolutely necessary, then, indeed, criticism is warranted; but not till then. In as much as the situation calls for the powers under this Act, Government have directed District Magistrates to exercise the utmost caution and restraint in using the power, and have charged them never to make use of the provisions of the Act until they are perfectly convinced in their own minds that the persons proceeded against are endangering public safety. It is only necessary to examine the comparative tranquillity enjoyed by this province during the last three years while the storm was sweeping through the rest of the country, to perceive the wisdom of Government in forearming themselves adequately.

Police Equipments. The efficiency of the police has been further augmented by providing them with the most modern weapons and other equipment available. Every sub-division is linked by wireless telegraphy; every district has a mobile wireless unit, and these are under the charge of a Provincial Wireless Officer of the rank of a District Superintendent of Police trained in the Army Signals Corps. Besides, it is proposed to fit wireless telephones in every sub-division. In the cities of Nagpur and Jubbulpore it is also proposed to install a telephone system for the use of beat police for facilitating prompt mobilising of the police force in emergencies. The Special Armed Forces is now armed with the latest fighting weapons such as Sten guns, Brenn guns, Brigade rifles and hand grenades. These replace the old muskets which had become wholly inadequate. Thus the Special Armed Force, is apart from its other utility, an efficient fighting force, and during the recent police action in Hyderabad it evoked great praise from both Provincial and Central Governments.

Another branch of the police which requires special mention consists of four tear-gas squads, two stationed at Nagpur and two at Jubbulpore. These have been found very useful additions; and during the recent trouble that broke out in the refugee camps they were used with great advantage, and the rioters were dispersed without having to resort to firing.

The regular District Executive Force is also armed up to seventy-five per cent of its strength with 303 rifles and 480 muskets, while the inspectors are provided with revolvers.

Anti-Corruption Work. As soon as the Ministry accepted office in April 1946 the question of checking bribery and corruption among Government servants and tackling the alarming growth of black marketing among merchants, engaged the serious attention of Government. These evils were in the nature of legacies from the war period, and it was considered that unless very drastic measures were adopted, it was not possible to check them. Accordingly an Anti-Corruption Organization was set up in July 1946; and to facilitate the work, the following proclamation was published in the Gazette, dated the 26th July 1946, for obtaining a free, full and true disclosure of facts for better success of the measures which the

Provincial Government had decided upon for the eradication of public corruption and bribery:-

"Be it known to all men upon condition that he furnishes to the Magistrate a true and full account of the facts within his knowledge no person who has committed the offence of giving a bribe and so exposed himself to the penalties of the law shall suffer prosecution in respect of such offence."

It was decided to create a separate branch of the Police Department called the "Anti-Corruption Branch" with whole-time staff under an officer of the rank of Assistant to Inspector-General of Police. This special staff was intended primarily to tackle important offences of bribery and corruption, black-marketing and organised crime and hoarding and profiteering. The success of this organization is particularly marked in the field of black-marketing as several gangs of blackmarketeers of provincial and inter-provincial notoriety were brought to book and heavy and deterrent punishment was imposed.

As it was considered that best results would not be obtained by an entirely official organization unconnected with the public, it was decided to set up Provincial, District and Tahsil Anti-Corruption Committees of mixed character containing both officials and non-officials, which would act as liaison bodies between the general public and the Department. A Provincial Anti-Corruption Committee was accordingly formed with the Honourable Minister for Home Affairs as its Chairman and with the Presidents of the three Provincial Congress Committees amongst its members. The duties and function of the Provincial Anti-Corruption Committees have been outlined as follows:-

(i) To organize publicity work in the province for educating the public and Government servants against corruption.

(ii) To review the problem of corruption in each department of Government and suggest means for dealing with it and lessening opportunities for it.

(iii) To send to the Anti-Corruption Branch of the Police Department cases of corruption which come to the notice of the Committee.

The District and Sub-Division Anti-Corruption Committees have also been formed.

Prohibition. The prohibition of liquor which forms one of the major reforms in the constructive programme of Congress was first introduced in this province in April 1938 by the first Congress Ministry and was extended to include the district of Wardha and Akola in 1939. During of the period of Section 93 regime it received no further extension. But when once again Congress assumed office in 1946 one of the first steps Government took was to extend prohibition to the districts of Nagpur, Amraoti, Nimar, Hoshangabad and parts of Durg and Bilaspur. The responsibility for enforcing prohibition over this wide area was entrusted to the police, and additional staff was appointed for this purpose. It is not necessary to point out in this context the economic and moral advantages that have accrued from prohibition. What is relevant here is that it brought. the police in close contact with the public in yet another capacity, and created occasions for further co-operation between the two. As a fruitful step in this direction 18 men and 10 women, who are Congress workers, have been enrolled as constables to assist the regular police in collection of information regarding breaches of the Prohibition Act. This experiment has worked with very promising results in Nagpur district where during 1948 as many as 1,895 cases were detected involving 2, 171 persons as against 1013 cases of 1947. Government have further prohibited the consumption of opium, ganja and bhang in the dry districts in the province, and it is the duty of the police to comb the whole prohibition area for detecting of crime against the Act. The numbers of Prohibition crimes detected in the whole province during last three years are:-

Year	No. of prohibition cases
1946	1,928
1947	4,024
1948	5,996

Other activities.-The post-war period, as is usual, is one in which new types of professional crime flourish. To check this danger the Criminal Investigation Department has been reorganised with a network of District Officers and eight Area Officers whose business it is to pursue a scientific and methodical investigation, all over the

province and outside, of the activities of inter-district and inter-provincial gangs of criminals and to assist the regular police force in their duties. At the end of each month a review of all crimes of professional nature is published in the Central Intelligence Gazette.

Another significant feature of the police force needs special mention, and that is the intellectual and cultural improvement of the policemen. A magazine in Hindi called "The Police Patrika" is published every month with the Parliamentary Secretary to the Honourable Minister for Home Affairs as Chief Editor and the Assistant to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Crime and Railways (C.I.D), and an Inspector of the Criminal Investigation Department as members of the Editorial staff. The magazine contains articles of cultural, literary and professional interest besides important news items. It is further contemplated to provide every police station with a radio receiving set.

As it was pointed out at the beginning, the progress and achievement of the police force have been in three directions; in the increase of efficiency as a result of proper educational and cultural training; in the closer contact with the people not only in the regular duties of policing but in reformative work such as prohibition and anti-corruption; and lastly in a vigorous and practical sense of patriotism and national pride. These last three years have been a strenuous period of test and trial for the police; and every one who is not blinded by prejudice will concede that they have come out of the test with their honour and prestige immensely enhanced. As the head of the police force in the province said on the last Independence Day, "The whole nation and this province in particular, can now look to the police for efficient, loyal and patriotic conduct in the discharge of the great and difficult tasks ahead."

(II) HOME GUARDS

It cannot be too often repeated that when the Congress Ministry took the reins of Government the situation that faced us was very grave. Within and without we were beset with dangers that would have thrown the province into chaos. People were not clear in their own minds what they wanted. Their ignorance and disorganised condition were exploited by opportunists. Years of servitude left us

bewildered when suddenly the bonds were untied, and we were free. Is this precious freedom to be lost in a whirlpool of disorder and riot? Shall all the sufferings and silent prayers of our leaders be rendered futile because of the ambition and selfishness of wicked men? It was the duty of all patriotic men, of all wise Government, to preserve before any constructive scheme could be started. As the Honourable Premier said in his fervent appeal to the youths of this province, "at the time when we should have bent all our energies to achieve real freedom unhappy events had overtaken the country and forces of disorder have raised their heads all around us. In the circumstances the first and foremost concern of the Government is to create conditions without which progress cannot be achieved. In other words maintenance of law and order becomes our first concern."

For this purpose it was decided to recruit a kind of people's militia called Home Guards consisting of able-bodied adults between the ages of 19 and 35 and give them the basic military training in the art of self-defence. so that in times of disorder they may form a nucleus and centre of stability. As the Honourable Premier said, "So far, few opportunities of service in this direction have been offered to us in this province; but now every able-bodied young man fit and willing to serve his country will get this chance. I therefore appeal to the youths of the province to join the Home Guards in their thousands and show to the rest of India that the Central Provinces and Berar are not behind the rest of the country in serving it."

Government had already passed the Central Provinces and Berar Home Guards Act in April 1947. Recruitment started at a brisk pace. The response from many districts was extremely encouraging; and the first course of training was started in the Rest Camp at nagpur in November 1947. The training of these men had been planned from the very beginning on the model of the army training, and ours was the first province to employ for this purpose the officers of the Indian National Army who were imbued with a militant spirit of patriotism as well as with the discipline and efficiency of the army. With the growth of the Home Guards. however. it will not be possible to find as many I. N. A. Officers as the number of officers required. Therefore selected non-

commissioned officers required. Therefore selected non-commissioned officers are already being trained intensively for being posted as officers and instructors, so that the organisation may be ultimately manned wholly by their own officers in each district.

Objects of Home Guards:- As stated in the Act itself, the main objects of this organization were, (1) to ensure internal security and (2) to raise the morale of the inhabitants of the province by familiarising them with military training so that they may be able to serve the province as a second line of defence in an emergency. Similar organizations are well known in most of the Western countries; and during the last war the Home Guards of Great Britain played a gallant part in defending the towns and villages and keeping up the public morale. But there is one distinguishing feature that marks out the Home Guards of this province from their comrades in other countries; namely, that they also form a well disciplined corps of social workers actively assisting in the promotion of public health, sanitation, education and social uplift in the villagers and towns of the province. Hence a third object was added to the organization, "to train Home Guards by practical course of corporate life in the training centres, so as to enable them to be model citizens and to help to improve the social life of the province."

Where there is an emergency, it is incumbent on a Government to marshall all their resources to meet the situation. What is often glibly forgotten by people is that there exists a grave emergency at present. We may have won, in some measure, political freedom; but the battle is still on to attain freedom from ignorance, disease, poverty; freedom from narrow selfishness and lurking disloyalty. In the battle for this freedom, the Home Guards have to be an efficient fighting force. As the poet said, Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war.

Two wings of Home Guards:- There are two wings of the Home Guards: the Urban and the Rural. The latter was called into existence partly by the striking success achieved by the first batch of Urban Home Guards and partly by the tense situation developing in the villages along the Hyderabed border where the need for an instrument of local self-defence was strongly felt. The Rural Home

Guards also served to train the villagers in the art of self-defence and to educate them in the art of citizen-ship. Thus at one stroke Government have succeeded in creating not only a force for the preservation of law and order, but also an instrument for bringing about a many-sided reconstruction of rural life by imparting a sense of civic duty, mental alertness and discipline to the villagers. The Home Guards work in close co-operation with the Janapada Sabhas and the Gram Panchayats; and the officers of the local administration frequently visit the Home Guards centres and address the Sainiks on many useful subjects.

Home Guards in action:- The record of the Home Guards during the brief sixteen months that they have been in existence is one of which any country may be proud. When this province as well as the whole country was plunged in serious disturbances following the tragic death of the Father of the Nation, the first batch of Home Guards had just completed their training and they were immediately called out to help the police in maintaining law and order. Anyone who has a recollection of the splendid work done by these men will exceeded all expectations. Thereafter the Home Guards were called out on several occasions to help in the preservation of order. They rendered themseleves very useful during an epidemic of plague at Mandla; they helped in detecting many cases illicit distillation at Bilaspur; they did guard duty when a number of undertrials belonging to Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh were detained at Wardha; and whenever there was need for assistance in patrolling duty or rescue work, the Home Guards were called out, and on every occasion they discharged their duty with credit and honour.

By far the largest single operation in which they participated was the police action in Hyderabad. For this purpose at the request of the Government of India eight companies and 16 sections were specially trained at Kamptee in addition to the regular Urban and Rural Home Guards; and they were armed with rifles and stenguns. Just before the police action started, they were moved to the Hyderabad border where they operated under the command of the Sub-Area Commander, Jubbulpore. Among the duties assigned to them were guarding bridges, railway stations and other key posts, escorting prisoners and trains, and capturing Razakars who were found in isolated pockets.

Besides the eight companies of Special Home Guards, five companies and three sections of Urban Home Guards and one Company and 28 sections of Rural Home Guards were also called out to duty and were distributed within the Central province territory along the border while special Home Guards moved into Hyderabad State. The work done by all of them evoked the highest praise from all quarters including the Military Governor and the Commanding Officer of the Army, and so well did they befriend the people wherever they went, that when the Home Guards were ordered to be withdrawn on the 28th October 1948, the authorities of Adilabad district in Hyderabad State requested that one Company of Home Guards might be retained for at least one more month. It is a matter of no small satisfaction to everyone in this province that the crude man-power drawn from all parts of our villages has shaped so efficiently and well with such a brief training and has given such good account of itself in active employment.

In the recent past when a nation-wide strike in the communication services threatened to paralyse the entire telegraph and railway system, the Home Guards were ordered to stand by for any emergency. Thankfully for all concerned, the threat of strike has failed to materialize, though it cannot be said that we are entirely out of danger. But it is some consolation to feel that if the worst did happen we have in the Home Guards a picked Company of men who are ready at all times to do their duty.

Today the strength of the entire Home Guards force stands at 3,969 Urban and 5,148 Rural Home Guards. Besides these, 612 Urban Home Guards have been trained in the thirteen training centres in the integrated states. The target figures fixed for the province are 10,000 Urban and 10,000 Rural Home Guards and an additional force of 2,000 for the integrated states. It would be obvious from the foregoing narrative that the Home Guards constitute not merely an emergency second line of defence, but an essential part of national reconstruction, contributing their share in raising the standard of life in the province. To refer to only one example in this regard, it may be pointed out that in one batch of trainees of rural Home Guards, as many as 900 illiterate persons who joined the ranks as Sainiks were made literate by the time they finished their training without any additional expense to the State.

Among the plans for the future are the opening of 17 more centres of Rural Home Guards in the southern and western districts of the province. Plans have also been drawn up for the recruitment of Women Home Guards as an auxiliary wing.

By performance and promise the Home Guards have already established a claim to be considered as a strong voluntary corps of immense potentialities worthy to play their part in the task of national regeneration which calls for undaunted courage, a faith that can move mountains and a passionate sense of duty.

(III) JAILS

The discussion in the foregoing pages on the police system and the Home Guards in the province brings us naturally to the question of prisons. There are in this province two Central Jails-one in Nagpur and the other in Jubbulpore, three District Jails at Raipur, Akola and Amraoti and seven other subordinate jails. The average daily population in all these put together is 4,544. If we remember that this is out of a total population of 1,68 lakhs in the whole province, we shall see that the proportion of the number of criminals to the total population is considerably small. The jails cost the province Rs. 18.62 lakhs against which has to be set Rs. 1.43 lakhs derived from all varieties of jail industries.

The administration of the jails has been the responsibility of the provinces of India since the Montford Reforms, though it has been from time-to-time guided by all-India policies laid down in this respect. During the days of the freedom movement, the jails were, with occasional respite, the permanent abode of the nation's leaders. The jails in this province have had the distinction of housing for a time many outstanding patriots of our country. The ill wind that drove these men into the jails brought some good in the shape of jail reforms, and those who today shoulder responsibility for governing the province having had first hand knowledge of the evils of the prevailing system, were quick to initiate reform of jail administration and discipline in several directions.

There are certain broad fundamental principles on which reforms were based. First of all, the jail is now considered not as a place for punishment or torture—a vicarious revenge taken by

society on the criminal—but a penitentiary, where the criminal may be reformed and redeemed if possible, and brought back to society as a useful member of it. For this purpose the environment and the way of life in the prisons are to be improved. The overcrowding in rooms should be avoided, provision should be made for educating the prisoners, and training should be given to them in useful industries and crafts, so that they may be able to rehabilitate themselves after release; women convicts should be kept separate from men with special facilities for privacy, and the adolescent and juvenile delinquents should be kept apart in special institutes, and above all, a new attitude towards the criminal according to recent development in penology should be developed in the warders and staff in charge of prisons.

Jail reforms:- It was in these directions that jail reforms were directed. Life in jails used to have a degrading and dehumanising effect upon the convict, so that he came out of the jail not only embittered and hardened but with a grudge against society, and thus became a source of grave danger. In view of this, attempt has been made to make him live a decent life even in the prison. His diet has been improved by introducing variety and even some richness in his food by giving wheat in place of rice and sweets on certain days. Cleaner clothes, sheets and soap to clean himself are also given; and when the prisoners are employed in gangs to work outside the jails, they are not longer bound by ankle-rings and iron fetters. A round-the clock medical attendance is provide in the jail hospitals and special male nurses have been appointed in place of the old convict orderlies, to attend on patients. All classes of prisoners, whether habituals or ordinary, are now provided with facilities for indoor and outdoor games and are allowed to purchase books, periodicals and newspapers. In addition, the illiterates are given every facility to acquire literacy, and an inducement is provided by fixing a scale of special remission for attaining literacy, a prisoner passing the fourth primary class being allowed as much as 20 days remission. The number of male teachers employed in the jails has also been increased and in many of the jails there are libraries and reading-rooms.

The system of visitors has been in vogue for many years, but there were many defects in the systen and interviews with prisoners

used to be much restricted and were conducted through an intervening screen. In this respect improvements have been made by the provisions of waiting-rooms where persons seeking interview could sit and special interview rooms for meeting the prisoners. The interviews are now permitted on all days of the week except holidays, whereas in the past they were allowed only on one day in the week. Every member of the Provincial Assembly residing at the Headquarters of a district or sub-divisional has been appointed an ex-officio visitor of the jail situated in his town.

Advisory Boards for jails had existed for some time in the past to review periodically the sentences of long-term prisoners. The number of such Boards has now been increased to four in this province situated at Nagpur, Jubbulpore, Akola and Raipur, and whenever cases for reduction of the period of sentence and release of prisoners are considered by the Boards the prisoners concerned are brought from the different jails to where the Board is sitting and are interviewed in person by the Board. This personal contact has been found to be very helpful. Besides such releases, the Jail Superintendent has the power to award remissions to a prisoner for good behaviour; and the period of such remissions has been increased from 15 to 30 days in a year, subject to a maximum which has also been raised from 1/4 to 1/3 of the total sentence. Again, certain categories or prisoners are permitted on parole to visit their homes for short periods, as provided in the Central Provinces and Berar Prisoners (Amendment) Act, 1939. The experience so far has amply justified for bringing into operation of this Act, as the prisoners have hitherto never abused the trust placed on them and have returned to the jail promptly on the appointed day.

It will be seen from the trend of the reforms mentioned above that they are all calculated to develop in the jails, a reformatory in place of a punitive outlook, to facilitate the transformation of the criminal into a normal citizen, and to bring the provincial jails abreast of the modern developments of penology in the other countries.

Political Prisoner.- The emergence of a class of prisoners described as "political prisoners" which during the British administration complicated jail administration all over the country continues to tax the authorities of the jails in this province in one

form or another. During the last three years, when waves of disorder swept the province, batches of a heterogeneous collection of persons arrived in all the jails, overcrowding their limited accommodation. First came the Communists and strikers in textile mills, followed by the municipal sweepers, primary school teachers, members of the Scheduled Castes Federation; and then, the workers and members of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, and, during the Hyderabad menace, a number of suspected Razakars and spies. Such prisoners were kept separate from the ordinary criminals, and all special treatment due to political detenus was extended to them, except in cases where actual offence had been committed. It is to be hoped that with the establishment of ordered Democratic Government and the settling down of the political and economic life of the country on stable foundations, this unusual strain on the jails will disappear.

Jail Industries:- Mention has already been made of the training given to prisoners in various handicrafts and Industries. This is the constructive side of jail administration, and from the point of view of the individual prisoner, the most redeeming feature of his term of imprisonment. One main principle in running these industries is to meet as far as possible the needs of the consuming departments of Governments, thereby achieving a kind of self-feeding economy. Thus stationery, scheduled forms, livery cloth, uniforms, bandage cloth, tapes, dusters and other articles of daily use in offices, hospitals, etc., are made in all the bigger jails. They also make durries, rugs and blankets which are much preferred by the public because of the excellent raw material used, and the fine workmanship. The prisons regularly grow the vegetables needed for their own consumption and grind their own flour. The Central Jail at Nagpur has a printing press which serves a portion of Government's needs. Besides these, excellent cane-work, oil-pressing, pottery and carpentry work are done by the Borstal Institute at Narsinghpur. The receipts from the jails, excluding the cost of materials supplied, amounted to Rs. 1.43 lakhs in 1948.

Reformatories:- It is necessary to mention in this context a word about the arrangements that are made in this province for youthful offenders. We are not much behind other parts of the world in this respect. There are two institutions that provide for the adolescents and juveniles, the Borstal Institute at Narsinghpur and

the Reformatory School at Jubbulpore. Both these are run for the purpose of reclaiming adolescent or juvenile offenders who have fallen into crime, and making them fit for earning an honest living. They are therefore taught, apart from reading and writing, a craft or trade which they could pursue. In the Borstal Institute at Narsinghpur, there are arrangements for teaching paper-making, soap-making, motor-driving, painting of sign-boards, type-writing, carpentry, masonry, etc. But the success of any institution for reclaiming the young criminal ultimately depends upon the general public. There should be public-minded people to devote special attention to the care of these unhappy individuals who may be helped to make a correct start in life. Now that freedom has been own and the efficient building up of the Nation has become the responsibility of everyone of us, it is to be hoped that the reformative side of the jail administration will get the full measure of public support without which no effort in this direction can succeed.

India and the Premier and the Home Minister in our province impressed upon the people that the Government servants were the trusted and loyal agents of the popular Government in the province and at the centre. It was their duty to carry out the work of administration as directed by the Ministers. The permanent services were the back-bone of Government. It was their task to implement the broad lines of national policy as determined by the Ministers.

As a wholesome result of such words of wisdom the friction used to take place between local congress bodies and the district and tahsil officials gradually decreased, and people began to view the Government officials in the context of a free country. The services personnel are now parts of a National Government; they are engaged in the day-to-day work of carrying out the many-sided nation-building schemes of Government. They serve as channels through whom the beneficent policies of Government reach down to the common people. Thus the Government servant is a vital link in the structure of national life. To the common man the State appears in the shape of the local officials. It is to them that he communicates his grievances, and it is from them that he receives the benefits of administration.

The safety and stability of a state depend largely on the loyalty, public spirit and incorruptibility of its permanent own not through

and upheaval as in other countries, but through a bloodless revolution. We are therefore in the fortunate position of effecting peacefully and gradually a switch-over of the administration to the needs of a free country. While this peaceful method is a blessing to the country, it is bound to be a comparatively slow process. It naturally rouses the legitimate impatience of the people who often complain about the tardiness of Government action. While it will be possible for Government to deal promptly with specific complaints against individual officers—and Government are at all times willing and anxious to deal with them—sweeping and general condemnation of the public services by the people would serve no useful purpose. What is needed is the spirit of intelligent interest and constructive criticism from the public regarding the services and their work. As the Hon'ble Minister of Home Affairs said in Parliament recently, "making all allowances for all the difficulties resulting from the transfer of power and partition, the services had served the country well; and if they treated the services with consideration and sympathy which they deserved, they would go far in promoting uniformity and efficiency of administration not only at the Centre but in all provincial units."

Pay Revision:- These is an old saying that cannot feed Vedas to starving people. Gandhiji speaking in a similar province said that even God did not appear before a starving man except in the shape of bread. If the man who drive the quills in offices, who teach in the schools, repair the roads, keep the account-books and do all the manifold work of running the administration are not paid for their work in a measure consonant with decent subsistence, there is little hope of their exhibiting a new spirit of enthusiasm or service in their work. The post-war inflation in the country had made the position of the wage-earning class extremely desperate. It was necessary therefore to revise the entire pay structure of the service with two main objects. First, the salaries of the lowest paid classes had to be raised so as to bring them within the margin of subsistence. Second, the unnecessarily large number of pay scales had to be brought down to a rationally graded system on the principle of equal pay for comparable work.

Government of India had at this time appointed Central Pay Commission to recommend revised scales of pay and allowances.

and their report was published early in 1947. The Provincial Government following this lead, decided to make an over all survey of the pay structure and other conditions of service of Government servants in this province, and to examine whether the recommendations of the Central Pay Commission could be accepted or modified to suit our needs. A Provincial Pay Committee under the chairmanship of the Honourable Minister for finance was asked to go into this question while, for the interim period, enhanced rates of compensatory while, for the interim period, enhanced rates of compensatory cost of living allowance and advances for purchasing foodgrains were granted as an immediate relief.

The report of the Provincial Pay Committee was published in July 1948, and Government have accepted all the recommendations of the Committee with a few slight modifications specially in liberalising the salaries and allowances of the lower grades of employees. The main applications of Government acceptance after two-fold. Firstly, instead of 500 odd varieties of scales into which the 54,000 employees of Provincial government fall at the moment, they will hereafter be fitted into a hundred rationally graded scales. This reduction has been made keeping in view "the duties and responsibilities of the posts, the status which Government servants holding these posts should be expected in the public interest to maintain, the minimum qualifications the age and method of recruitment, the prospects, promotion available to the holders of the posts, the desirability of avoiding needless multiplicity of pay scales and of ensuring equal remuneration for comparable work, the need for placing Government servants above the reach of temptation, and other similar relevant considerations." Secondly, by stepping down the highest scales of salaries and stepping up the lowest basic pay the gulf that separated the lowest from the highest paid servant has been frowed. As a result no officer of the Provincial government will draw a pay higher than Rs. 1,500 per month, and the lowest unskilled worker will be paid Rs. 20 per month as basic against Rs. 11 which he was formerly getting. A matriculate semi-skilled worker will now start on Rs. 45 per month going up to Rs. 80 instead of as formerly on Rs. 30 ending at Rs. 50 per month. His initial salary according to the new scale will be almost as high as the maximum of the old scale. It will thus be seen that while a material

improvement in the pay scales of the lower paid staff has been brought about, the highest salary has been drastically reduced. If it is remembered that out of 54,000 employees of Government as many as 33000 draw salaries below Rs. 50 a month, and another 15,000 are between Rs. 50 and 150 per month, it will be realised that the effect of the increased basic pay has been to raise the economic lot of 8/9 of the total strength of Government employees who live on the border line of subsistence. As against this there are in the whole province only 40 officers who will draw a salary of Rs. 1,500 per month.

The total cost to the province of this revision of scales of pay is expected to be Rs. 106 lakhs. This is considerable additional burden on the revenue of the province and can be justified only if, as Government's resolution on the subject says, "the response of Government servants of all grades to the revised scales of pay and allowances now sanctioned is reflected in an increase in the tempo and quality of their work. Government trust that this response will be forthcoming in full measure."

Government are aware that the problem which oppresses the average Government servant, even more heavily than his inadequate salary, is the problem of housing, especially at the provincial Headquarters. A housing scheme for building 500 residential quarters for the lower grades of ministerial staff has been drawn up and sanctioned. The houses will be of four types, the cheapest on a rent of Rs. 10 a month and the largest on Rs. 30 a month. The scheme could not be put through owing to high cost of building materials, but a beginning has been made, the site has been marked out and it is hoped that a few at least of the houses will be ready for occupation by the end of this years.

Assured of a salary which should normally put them beyond want and secure for them the necessaries of life, and assured of a security of tenure in the offices they hold, the public services can now turn to the patriotic and privileged task of laying the foundations of a free prosperous State. They do not now bear the odium of serving a foreign master. They can well look upon themselves as the architects of a new era remoulding the entire scheme of life according to our heart's desire. Mountains of toil await the hand of the willing worker, plans to be carried out, wealth

and well-being to be built up, the blessings of food and education to be brought to every human being in the far-flung and newly-augmented territories of this province. The right man has to be chosen for the right job, and then the job has to be done with efficiency and expedition.

Public Service Commission: To choose the right man for the job we formerly depended on a Joint Public Service Commission for three province, Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa. This arrangement was no longer satisfactory in view of the increasing demand for personnel for the new departments of Government, and the need to make the selection of staff for all grades of service through the Commission. Accordingly on 1st June 1948 Government constituted a provincial Public Service Commission consisting of three members. Hitherto only officers in the gazetted ranks were selected by the Public Service Commission; but hereafter all vacancies in classes I, II and III of the Provincial Services will be filled in consultation with the Provincial Service Commission who will advertise the posts and select candidates. Besides, it is expected that they will also hold competitive examinations for entrance into the different Provincial Services, so that it may be possible to make available to Government the best material of the province selected on grounds of sheer merit.

Economy Measures: To enforce efficiency and economy in the Government departments, Government have appointed a special officer who is to examine the existing strength of each department, find out ways of avoiding unnecessary expenditure and suggest ways of speeding up disposals and avoiding delays due to what is popularly known as "red tape". As long as the functions of the Government departments were purely regulative, such as seeing that the laws are punctually carried out and the public funds are utilised with care, the formalism and red tape were to some extent necessary and useful. But when Government take over creative and productive work, as they are bound to do in the scheme of reconstruction, departmental work must acquire quickness of dispatch, elasticity and adaptability. It is in these directions that reorganisation is being planned. New industrial enterprises of far-reaching benefit to the province and the country have been taken up; a large scheme of electrification is under way; a beginning has been made in the

nationalisation of road transport. The old administrative system is being quickly adapted to undertake these activities.

With effect from the 1st October, 1948, Government abolished the offices of Commissioners of the four divisions both as a measure of economy and to simplify administrative machinery. Delegaticn of wider powers to the local units of administration and a large measure of decentralisation are the main features of administrative reform. The district, tahsil and the village units will hereafter enjoy a great measure of autonomy and whatever powers are not delegated to these will remain with the Provincial Government. It was therefore found unnecessary to have a divisional administration which will only duplicate the work of the provincial Secretariat and become a bottle-neck in the disposal of work.

With the ushering in of the epoch-making reform of local self-government there is bound to be further devolution of powers and simplification of the administrative set-up. That administration is best which provides for the largest measure of popular voice in the Government of a country. The system of local self-government which has so far been partially worked out in this province is based on that principle. The picture is as yet incomplete. When it energies in all its completeness it may be compared to a pyramid with the Gram Panchayats and Janapada Sabhas and their sub-committees forming the broad base and the Provincial Government as the apex. When experience has matured the Janapada Sabhas in their new and vital task, they will be entrusted with all the duties of Government as far as they affect the local spheres. They will then be self-government units within the framework of the provincial administration. But this can only happen after we have gained more experience of the working of the Janapada within its allotted spheres. When the emphasis shifts from the district officials to the Janapada, the Deputy Commissioner will thereafter perform purely supervisory and inspectional duties within the district. The separation of the executive from the judiciary will relieve him of his magisterial functions, and he will be in a position to devote more attention to the activities of the Janapada, contribute the driving power for its programmes, assists and guide all its activities and provide a link between the Provincial Government and the units of local administration. Thus in the sphere of the tahsil towns, and

villages, the Janapada Sabhas and Gram Panchayats will exercise considerable autonomy, and their policies and functions will be execute through the officers of the Provincial Government in the district or tahsil. The centre of administration will be thus shifted from the districts to the tahsils. The Provincial Secretariat the head-quarters is expected to become a co-ordinating nerve-centre directing and vitalising a large number of regional bodies of administration. Thus the spirit of democracy will permeate from the centre to the remotest villages bringing new life to the entire social and political structure.

(IV) PROVINCIAL FINANCE

Over two thousand years ago, that great Indian economist Kautilya said, "The beginning of every undertaking is finance." While on the one hand the scope and limits of every scheme undertaken by Government are determined by finance, on the other, Government are judged by the provident manner in which they have been able to manage the country's revenues. All the development plans, those that are in progress and those that await working out, depend ultimately on the availability of money. It everyone with his own pet scheme does not get the money he wants, the blame is on the devoted heads of Finance. So also the odium of every additional measure of taxation falls upon the persons responsible for finance. To love and to be wise is not given to man, to tax and be popular is also equally impossible. But, it is necessary for every citizen to realise that unless funds are raised by taxation, Government cannot find the money to pay the policeman who protects the people, or the teacher who educates the children, or the doctor who looks after our physical well-being. Government also have to raise money for other productive works like irrigation, electrification, etc., which increase the wealth of the country. When the wealth increase, that in its turn enables the people to get more amenities of life. Thus what is taken from the people in the shape of benefits, services, and utilities.

It is no longer contended now, as it used to be in the past that Government should take as little of the peoples' money as possible, leaving the people to spend most of their income in their own way. The view accepted now is rather that the State should as far as

possible divert the income of th people to fruitful and necessary channels. Apart from the regulative and protective duties of Government, state activities now embrace a wide field including non-remunerative services like education, public health, and social services, other essential services like electricity, rural development and transport, and certain capital outlays like large irrigation, hydro-electric works, key industries and so on. A steady increase and extension of State action in economic affairs has been the feature of the last few decades in all parts of the world.

In our country, however, the function of Government in the past was almost exclusively the administration of law and order. All other activities were in some way or the other, contributory to this main purpose. Taxation was resorted to mainly for this overriding concern, with the result that there was very little State enterprise in the various productive and nation-building activities.

A radical change in regard to the nature and extent of State action came over Government after 1946. The Congress Ministry, true to its conception of a Peoples' Government, recognised it as their first duty to encourage and increase the nation-building services and actively assist in tapping all the resources of the province. They set for themselves certain economic ends, which it was in the interest of the province to pursue, without which the common man cannot have the prospect of a full and satisfying life. The money for achieving these ends was to be found either by taxation or by raising loans. This approach to the finances of the province from the point of view of the needs of the common man is a revolutionary one and has been made possible only because we have a People's Government.

The Provincial Government's financial programme, however, provides only an incomplete picture of governmental activity in the province as the Central Government also plays an important part, both in expenditure and in revenue. Many of the large development schemes in the province have to be fed by financial aid from the Centre. At the same time, the sources of revenue available to the Provincial Government are limited and inelastic. With the prospect of a fall in the price level in the future, we should even be prepared for a shrinking of the provincial revenues.

But within the limits set by the resources available, the main concern of Provincial Government has been to shift the emphasis from law and order to the improvement of the condition of the people. While budgeting for a surplus Government have combined caution with enterprise and as the figures given in the following paragraphs will show, have diverted more and more of the revenues of the province to providing many kinds of social services and encouraging sound productive schemes which will make for the material and spiritual well-being of the people.

As a background to the review of the finances of the province during the last three years, it would be convenient to give the financial position of the province in 1938-39, the last full year before the war during which a Congress Ministry was in power. In that year, the total actual revenue receipts of Government amounted to Rs. 427.41 lakhs and the total expenditure debited to the revenue account Rs. 470.94 lakhs, leaving a revenue deficit of Rs. 43.53 lakhs. Revenue deficits, in spite of the low standard of expenditure on nation-building departments were a recurrent feature of the financial history of the province long before the Conress Ministry first assumed office in 1937. For a period of about 10 years from 1928-29, when the great depression commenced, the province was in an extremely difficult financial position and, judged by the most important index to financial solvency, viz., the ability of the province to meet its expenditure from revenue, that period can only be described as one of progressive loss of solvency. In 1935, in connection with the enquiry conducted by Sir Otto Niemeyer, a standard budget was worked out which placed the revenue at Rs. 483.34 lakhs and expenditure at Rs. 553.28 lakhs. The standard expenditure did not provide for anything like adequate expenditure on nation-building departments. It was then calculated that even a modest minimum of social services would raise the expenditure to Rs. 707.09 lakhs. In such conditions, any progressive ministry was compelled much against its inclinations to confine itself largely....the maintenance of law and order and could only incur token expenditure on nation-building activities.

When the Ministry assumed office in April 1946, the financial position and changed markedly for the better. In the year that ended

on the 31st March 1946, the total revenue of the Provincial Government was Rs. 1,096.16 lakhs and the total expenditure Rs. 831.14 lakhs, leaving a revenue surplus of Rs. 228.02 lakhs. The improvement in revenue commenced from 1943-44 when the inflationary effects of war-time expenditure began to be reflected is higher returns from practically all sources except land revenue which continued to be a fixed demand. Expenditure also increased substantially but it did not keep pace with the increase in revenue with the result that it was possible to build up a Post-War Reconstruction and Development Fund from the revenue surpluses. The amount at the credit of the fund on 1st April 1946 was Rs. 658.56 lakhs.

According to the budget estimates for 1949-50 the ordinary revenue is expected to be Rs. 1,391.89 lakhs and the ordinary expenditure will be Rs. 1,119.87 lakhs. In addition to these, the Government of India are expected to contribute Rs. 507.77 lakhs as grants for refugee relief and approved development schemes. The estimated expenditure on development schemes for 1949-50 is Rs. 432.01 lakhs which by itself is in excess of the total revenue receipts of the province in 1938-39 which amounted to Rs. 427.41 lakhs.

An examination of the taxation measures introduced during the period of the Congress Ministry will bear out what was said earlier that the concern of provincial finance today is to provide adequate funds for essential development schemes. Throughout the Section 93 regime additional revenue through taxation was not raised except a surcharge on court fee, stamp duties and registration fees, and an enhancement of the tax on motor vehicles. But when Congress took office in 1946, the need for additional taxation was immediately felt to offset the loss of excise revenue amounting to nearly Rs. 2.5 crores as a result of total prohibition. Fresh source of revenue had also to be found to meet the increased cost of administration as a result of the revision of pay scales amounting to nearly Rs. 60 lakhs per year. Besides, the various schemes of development, some of them not revenue-yielding like education, public health etc. would involve heavy recurring and capital expenditure. Since April 1946 new taxation measures were

introduced, the most important of them being the general sales tax which is expected to realise in 1949-50 nearly Rs. 1.75 crores. The total yield from all the newly imposed taxes since the Ministry assumed office is Rs. 270-30 lakhs.

The additional taxation is not only justified, but more than compensated by the all-round development plans and increased expenditure on nation-building services undertaken by Government. It is only necessary to compare the expenditure proposed to be incurred in 1949-50 on some of the major nation-building services such as education, public health, agriculture, etc., with the corresponding figures in the pre-Congress regime to realise the extent to which the additional revenues of the province are being directed to productive and necessary purposes. In 1938-39 Rs. 55.40 lakhs were spent on education as against Rs. 305.42 lakhs in 1949-50. Medical and Public Health cost Government Rs. 22.17 lakhs in 1938-39 whereas for 1949-50 Rs. 100.47 lakhs are budgeted. Agriculture including rural development spent only Rs. 17.99 lakhs in 1938-39, while for the coming year Rs. 208.12 lakhs have been earmarked. To put it in terms of the total expenditure of the province, out of a total expenditure of Rs. 18.79 lakhs, the nation-building services take up Rs. 5.45 lakhs, i.e., 30 per cent rupees of the total, whereas law and order cost 2,98 lakhs, i.e., 16 per cent of the total expenditure. In other words, out of every Rs. 100 spent by Government Rs. 16.10-8 goes to education, Rs. 11-2-0 to agriculture, Rs. 5-7-0 is spent on medical and public health work, and Rs. 6-0-0- on industries. As against these, Rs. 12-10-8 is spent on law and order.

In the budget of 1949-50 the amount of tax proposed to be raised works out to Rs. 5-3-6 per head of population. Of this amount Rs. 3-4-0 is proposed to be spent on education, public health, agriculture, and industries, i.e., nearly 62 per cent of the tax paid per head is spent on nation-building services. The total expenditure provided in the budget is Rs. 11-3-0 per head, the difference being met partly by grants from Central Government, partly by the share of the taxes raised by Government of India and partly from previous surplus.

A development plan for the province to be financed by the post-war reconstruction fund had been drawn up by Section 93 regime. This was, however, recast by the Congress Ministry in the light of the needs of a free country, and the new schemes are expected to cost Government altogether Rs. 66 crores. Part of this cost will be met by grants from Government of India, part by raising loans for schemes which are self-financing and part from the post-war reconstruction fund.

The expenditure on development schemes commenced in 1945-46, but is was only on a very meagre scale. The budget estimate for 1949-50 has provided Rs. 431-94 lakhs for the various development schemes. The entire expenditure on development for the last three years, except a very small sum, has been met from the current revenues without depleting the post-war reconstruction fund. The budget for the current year reveals a small surplus after allowing for nearly Rs. 4.5 crores on development expenditure. Thus, it will be seen that during the trying period following the termination of the war the resources of the province, have been carefully husbanded, and if the productive schemes launched in the development programme fructify, the province need not have any anxiety regarding its financial soundness in the future.

14

Education in C.P.

I. INTRODUCTION

It is customary to begin any discussion on education in India with a righteous denunciation of the system that prevailed in the past. To attribute all existing evils to the satanic qualities of an institution in which we had neither lot nor part, is a comforting and comfortable occupation. But it does not take us an inch forward in the right direction. Without unduly decrying the past or suggesting that the past policy was entirely misguided and ineffective, let us admit that the educational policy in the past, such as it was, did at least fulfil the object it set out to achieve, namely, the efficient manning of the administration. Once we have said this, we have a said all that can be advanced in its favour. The rest if futility. There never was a comprehensive, well-balanced plan of education directed to objective and cultural ends. No attempt was made to see that the form and content of education were linked to the life and environment of the people. It hardly touched very small portion of the population. After about 200 years it has succeeded in making about 10 per cent of the people literate. Education was sought to be imparted in a language that was not native to the people.

The most serious defect which is responsible for the ineffectiveness and slow progress of education is the complete absence of a close contact with the life of the people. "The scheme of studies for elementary schools is not sufficiently related to the life and surroundings of both parents and pupils. This particularly so in the rural elementary schools. The teaching usually tends to divorce the pupil from the village life and hereditary occupations rather than help to train better villagers." Such is the confession made by the

Government of Madras in a press communique issued as long ago as in June 1937. The story was the same in all provinces, and as long as the governance of the country remained in the hands of foreigners no effective remedy could be undertaken.

The late Shri Mahadeo Desai has told us an amusing incident to show how he and his school-mates were being 'educated' in his village school in Surat district. The old villagers would often ask the boys, much to their discomfiture, about things which every school boy ought to know but which he schools never taught. "Tell me, when do we sow cotton and when wheat?" "How much wheat is necessary to sow a field of ten acres, and how much mustard for a field of one acre?" "Now an easy question: If we get wheat at Rs. 5 a maund, what is the price of 2½ seers? Come along, quick." "now then, how long does a bullock live?" Mahadeo Desai tells us how he and his class-mates used to gape in distressed ignorance at these questions, pleading sheepishly, "But we have not been taught all this," at which the old villagers would burst into laughter at their so-called education!

The formation of popular ministries in the provinces was the signal for changing all this, and initiating a radical reform of our educational system. The famous Karachi Session of the Congress in 1931 had passed a resolution on the Fundamental Rights which said interalia, "that in order to end the exploitation of the masses, any constitution agreed to on behalf of the Congress should provide, among other things, for free compulsory primary education." Congress had always insisted that education must be undertaken for the entire mass of the people so as not only to bring every child into school and keep him there for a prescribed period, but also to bring out the best in each individual and enable him to play his part as a citizen. Article 36 of the Draft Constitution of India lays it down as a fundamental right, that "Every citizen is entitled to free primary education, and the State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years." If democracy is not to be an empty name or the plaything of party politics, if our civil liberties and fundamental rights so dearly purchased are not be perverted and destroyed, and if the freedom and opportunities offered by national independence are

to be used to promote material improvement and cultural growth, education must be broad-based on the life and occupation of the people. It must be available to all, not in name means for every one to achieve self-fulfilment.

With this end in view the Congress Ministry on assuming responsibility for governing this province brought to the revival of education a revolutionary approach. In the transformation of society from the state of helpless subjection to enlightened dynamic growth, education has to contribute both the impulse and the direction. Education attempts at producing health, useful, socially and politically conscious citizens. Ignorance is the deadliest enemy of democracy and freedom, and every uneducated person is a social danger. Unless ignorance is liquidated by a systematic, attack at all levels of society, it is impossible to bring about a social regeneration. Social revolution, it has been aptly said, is possible only through social education.

Immediately after taking office the Congress Ministry took stock of the situation as it existed after the withdrawal of the British power. They had in their minds a concrete picture of the province as it should be when the fruits of freedom are in the hands of the people. In that picture the education of the illiterate adults loomed large. The reason is obvious. As a unit of democracy the adult individual would be immediately called upon the exercise his rights as a free citizen. He has to choose the men who should govern him. He has to approve of the steps that Government take. Social security has ultimately to be his responsibility; and he has to be the active agent in the economic progress of the country. No wonder that Government gave the highest importance to educating the citizen for his role in the State. Adult education did indeed exist in the past as feature of the British Government's window-dressing. This province used to spend a little over a thousand rupees a year for this purpose. The Congress Government have this year budgeted Rs. 118 lakhs for the same purpose. The difference between these two amounts dramatises the difference between slavery and freedom.

Our Government's scheme for solving the problem of ignorance is known, not only in this province but far beyond its borders, as the Social Education Scheme. A detailed account of its aims and organization together with achievements already made, is

given later on in this chapter. Nothing like it is being attempted anywhere else in India, and we may take a reasonable pride in the scheme which is bold and revolutionary in conception, and effective and far-reaching in its results.

Next in importance only to Social Education is primary education which is an insurance against future ignorance. It aims at guaranteeing to every child that is born the minimum educational equipment necessary to make him an independent and useful citizen. Social education and primary education represent the two arms of Government's pincer movement in their campaign against ignorance. Of concrete achievement in the sphere of primary education there is not yet much to record. The reason is simple. Within the short period that this Government has been in office their activities capacity and an order of priority. No reasonable person will demand that the Government should deliver all the fruits of freedom in a day, in a year or even in ten years. He will be satisfied if he knows that the policy of the State is set in the right direction, that we are progressing in that direction at a reasonable pace and that we shall reach the destination within a calculable time.

Primary education as conceived in the background of freedom is not a matter of opening some schools here and there and making provision for them in the routine budget. What is required is a comprehensive national system of education for both boys and girls of the age group 6-11. This means about 270 lakhs of pupils to be taught by about 9 lakhs of teachers at a cost of about Rs. 85 lakhs per year. The staggering dimensions of this problem have been indicated by the Report of the Central Advisory Board for Education, popularly known as Sargent Report. The Board has calculated that it will cost about Rs. 312 crores spread over about 40 years if India is to attain the standard of education prevailing in Great Britain at present. It is neither possible to wait so long nor afford such vast expenditure when Government have to find the means for many other nation-building activities. Other ways have to be found to meet this problem, and Provincial Government's answer is the Vidya Mandir Scheme.

When the Congress came to power in 1936 Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla who was then in charge of education devised this scheme which aimed at creating a self-financing system of education

based on the primary occupation of the people, namely, agriculture. This scheme was however stagnating during the period that the Congress went into exile. With the installation of popular Government and the coming of freedom, the Vidaya Mandir Scheme, slightly modified in the light of experience, has again been taken up. The details of the scheme have been worked out by a Committee of experts and their Report is being examined by Government. The purpose of the scheme is to reduce the financial burden, revolutionize the spirit of education and build up a social and economic structure in a bold and original manner. To the carping critic who protests that this is merely a paper scheme the answer is simple. No doubt the scheme is yet to be finalised; the various measures of reform can, after all, be undertaken only in their turn. But we can judge Government's plans correctly only if we have a complete and co-ordinated picture in all its aspects; and Government's scheme of primary education is a vital part of that picture which will be unfolded in the coming years.

Another aspect of educational reform deals with vocational and technical training. This is a field in which we have been lamentably backward. In the past there was neither any large demand for technicians nor an adequate supply. As the Abbot-Wood Report said, "No country can initiate and carry on industries on a large scale unless it has an adequate supply of men specially trained for the direction and management of large industrial concerns, as well as of other qualified for the minor but very important supervisory posts in them on the other hand, it cannot be expected that capable and ambitious men will devote themselves to acquiring this special knowledge and skill unless they see a reasonable prospect of exercising it and gaining a decent livelihood thereby." In view of the vast expansion in industry and commerce planned by this province there will be an ever-increasing demand for such men and it is the primary function of technical education to meet this demand by training skilled craftsmen, intelligent foremen and executives, and also research workers. Government have therefore taken steps to increase the output of existing institutions and provide additional facilities for technical training. The volume and variety of the work done in this sphere are indicated in a later section.

Yet another instance of the way freedom and independence impinge on education is seen in the sphere of military education. Education is the moulding of the whole man, intellectual, moral and physical. The last of these had hitherto been relegated to an insignificant place, and as for military education its share was negligible. After the advent of freedom, Provincial Government in conjunction with Government of India has worked out a scheme for giving efficient military training in schools and colleges, and it is already showing encouraging results.

If there is nothing spectacular to record in the field of general and higher education the explanation is obvious. Under the top-heavy system of education in the past, general education received more than its due share of attention for producing the men to carry on King's Government. It would appear therefore natural that to correct the balance greater attention should now be devoted to the other spheres of education. In those spheres the achievement of Government may legitimately be considered unique and distinguished. A vast scheme for reclaiming the masses of adult citizens from darkness to light has been worked with striking success. A variety of technical and vocational training institutes has been started including professional training up to the Degrees stage. A revolutionary and economical scheme of universal primary education has been drawn up and will soon be worked. Every individual is to equipped for the manifold duties of a citizen, including the responsibility of security and defence. By its very nature the achievements of Education cannot be spectacular or sensational. Education works at the foundation of society; it builds deep down in the character and personality of the individual the solid material out of which the structure of the State is erected. Governments' activities in this department are directed towards the all important task of the moulding of a nation.

II. SOCIAL EDUCATION WAR ON IGNORANCE

The far-reading and revolutionary significance of Social Education is strikingly brought out in a speech by Honourable Pandit D. P. Mishra broadcast on 31st May 1948 from All-India Radio, New Delhi. Pointing out the vital importance of having a socially

conscious people as the best safeguard of democracy, Honourable Pandit Mishra said that every ignorant man is a danger to the State. Government realised that not only the success of the plans essential to the moral and material development of the people, but also the success of the great democratic experiment in the country and even the very foundations of freedom depended upon how the people were educated.

Education does not mean only the knowledge of reading and writing. In the past, progress in education used to be reckoned in terms of literacy, but literacy is only a means to an end and the end is to make every individual conscious of his place and function in society. In a period of revolutionary transition such as this, calling for rapid adaptation of the people to the urgent demands of a free State, we cannot wait for full literacy to be obtained before educating the people for life and for sharing the responsibilities of a democratic society. The time-factor is of the utmost importance. Freedom is in our hands. Big plans for development are already on the move. The immense task of social reconstruction insistently demands execution. Therefore training in responsible and dynamic living must go ahead of literacy.

To train men to live usefully and effectively in a good State is the first aim of education. The people should be made conscious of their responsibilities towards the Government which in its turn is responsible to them. Towards this end the people must be acquainted with the every changing currents in their social, economic and political life; they must have a faith in themselves and in the future of the country; they must learn to take a living interest in the affairs of the State and in the many problems of social reconstruction; they must learn to organize economic and social life on a co-operative basis and appreciate their responsibilities towards social and national security; they must learn to live in peace with their neighbours and to unite against anti-social elements which tend to disintegrate social life; and above all, they must learn to live a healthy life, to keep their homes and surroundings clean and to make social life useful and enjoyable.

It is also to be remembered that under the conditions of modern society education of some kind or other necessarily takes place in every individual. The social environment is bound to mould

a persons's character though he may never have gone to school. As such the choice is not between education and no education, but between good education and bad education, between education which is for social good and that which is injurious to society. The alarming trends of mis-education are only too evident in our country, which threaten disintegration of society due to unhealthy feelings of communalism, provincialism and linguistic jealousies. Such antisocial tendencies have to be combated. The mis-educated have to be re-educated. Society as a whole must be made closely knit and efficiently organized so as to achieve the common good of all people through democratic means.

C. P. Governments Scheme

These considerations have inspired the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar to launch the scheme of Social Education. Government are not at ignoring the problem of elimination of illiteracy. On the contrary, they have decided to mobilise all possible talent available in the province to combat illiteracy. A suitable syllabus for the education of the adult has been prepared and an Adult Education Certificate Examination, instituted. The syllabus embodies, besides knowledge of civic live, current affairs and the laws of health. Possession of the Adult Education Certificate, which will be awarded to the candidates successful at the Adult Education Certificate examination, will be considered to be the minimum qualification of education. Government have initiated measures to compel all teachers in all types and grades of educational institutions to undertake the work of adult education and to teach at least two illiterate adult and to help them to secure the Adult Education Certificate. Co-operation of the High School Education Board, the Universities and the local bodies has been invited to implement the proposals. Government have also requested the High Schools Education Board and the Universities to make a condition for candidates for the High School Certificate and University examination that they shall have taught at least two adult illiterates and enabled them to secure the Adult Education Certificates. Government are also considering proposals for making it a compulsory duty of all educated officers in Government service in all departments to teach illiterate adults. These are the most

practicable measures of compulsion adopted by Government. Besides these, a fervent appeal was issued by Honourable Pandit D. P. Mishra to the educated men and women of the province to do their bit in this great cause, and there is very reason to believe that they will not fail their Government in this momentous undertaking.

The scheme of Social Education also contemplates imparting of education through other means, for example, the radio, films, talks and informal conferences. People are being requested to constitute local societies for Social Education and they will be given all facilities for efficient functioning. Centres of culture are proposed to be established at the Divisional Headquarters. These will be the centres of circulating libraries and of music, recreational and educational activities; and these centres will have art galleries and museums. Attempts will be made to preserve and improve upon our cultural heritage which as proved to be of enduring value. The local stage, songs, tunes, dances, stories and other means of recreation, celebration of festivals and all features of life that give colour to the rural society need to be revived and developed. It is also necessary to attend to the occupations of the people and to train them to do better in them and adopt new means and methods to improve their economic condition. These constitute the essential aspects of the programme of Social Education.

The Provincial Social Education Scheme was inaugurated on the 1st of May 1948 with a stirring appeal to the educated men and women of the province and to teachers and students of all educational institutions by the Hon'ble Pandit D. P. Mishra who is the Father of the Scheme. The organisation which was set up for this purpose consists of (i) a Direction Centre with two committees one for education for citizenship and the other for education for enlightenment, (ii) an Administrative Centre also with two sections, one to dealt with general problems connected with the programme of Social Education and provision of materials for it, and the other to deal with publicity, propaganda and visual education, and (iii) a Creative Centre for the production of suitable literature, periodicals, statistical and artistic work. These three centres are assisted by mobile units equipped with projectors, loud speaker arrangement, slides and films which take the tools of education to the remote villages. Elaborate machinery of inspection and administration

working through the district inspectors and their assistants looks to the efficient working of the system in the districts.

The general plan of the campaign is to run three sessions of social education camps during the year—the summer camps, monsoon camps and the winter camps. The summer camps of 1948 were started in 22 district Headquarters, 77 tahsil towns and 55 selected villages. In response to the appeal issued by the Hon'ble Pandit Mishra 13,328 volunteers offered their services to work in the camps. A simple co-ordinated syllabus was drawn up and the villagers were taught not only to read and write but to organize village sanitation, games, bhajans and other community activities. It was indeed very heartening to see the enthusiasm with which the villagers took to this educative process. As the volunteers were living in the villagers themselves the close contact that was established between the workers and the villagers led to continuous and intensive education even after the regular hours. Women volunteers used to hold special classes in the noon for the benefit of women adults and illiterates. The camps lasted for five to six weeks and at the end of the session, an examination was conducted for awarding Adult Education Certificates. In the first camp of 1948 as many as 41,274 men and 20,924 women passed the Adult Education Certificates Examination. The success of the first camp was reflected in the enormous increase in the number of adults that offered to go through the course of Social Education, during the winter course of December 1948. As against 451 centres of the summer camps, 4,044 centres were opened in winter and 153,906 men and 15,849 women were enrolled at these centres. So far 2 lakhs adults have been awarded Adult Education Certificates. Considering that the Social Education Scheme has been in operation only for one year the results achieved are extremely encouraging. With the whole-hearted co-operation of educated public it should be possible to completely wipe out the evil of illiteracy from the province with the next five years.

An important aspect of Social Education is the prevention of the adults who have gone through the Social Education course from relapsing into illiteracy. For this purpose a programme of follow-up work has been chalked out to keep alive in the minds of adults the ideas which were imparted by social education workers. The

illiterates among the villagers are asked to wrıte wall-news and conduct reading clubs. It is also expected of them that they would write at least one postcard in a month. At the time of village festivals the interest in education is kept alive by organizing bhajans, kirtans and sports. Reports received indicate that the follow-up work is being regularly carried out in the villages where the camps were opened.

With a view to bring the news of the world to the door-step of the villages, Government decided to install 1,000 radios in selected villages. They are already purchased and are being gradually fitted up. Arrangement for proper maintenance and service of the radios have been made and with the co-operation of All-India Radio, Nagpur, special broadcasts suited for rural areas are put out on the air regularly.

Government have also under consideration the establishment of circulating libraries at each village which has a school and also the setting up of mobile libraries for the benefit of villages that do not have local libraries. The production department of social education puts out a large number of posters and pamphlets for propaganda and also publishes a fortnightly journal called Prakash in the two main languages of the province.

Twenty specially built motor vans are being provided to work in the districts, each of them fitted with a gramophone, a radio, film projector and loud speaker. Through these vans publicity and propaganda on behalf of social education will be efficiently carried out in each district.

In the immense and heroic war against ignorance and illiteracy Government need the enthusiastic support of volunteer public organizations. The stupendous task of equipping the common man for his democratic duties cannot be undertaken through Government agencies alone. The urge for knowledge should come from the people themselves. That such an urge exists in many centres is proved by the fact that social education associations are being formed by the people in several places. It is hoped that when Janapada Sabhas begin to function in all fields of social work they would act as the volunteer centres for the purpose of social education. As the Hon'ble Pandit Mishra observed "That the social

education scheme has taken root is obvious from the fact that the movement is passing from Government to the peoples' hands, and its fruits are now well within the reach of the people of this province."

III. VIDYA MANDIR SCHEME

The organization of a National System of Public Education is provided in Articles 32, 36 and 37 in Part VI of the Draft Constitution which deals with the directive principles of the State policy. Of these, Article 36 which has already been quoted lays down that the State should provide free and compulsory primary education for all children till they complete the age of 14 years. The Constituent Assembly which discussed this article decided that Provincial Government should provide for free and compulsory education within a period of 15 years from the date of the operation of the constitution.

Immediately after this decision was taken by the Constituent Assembly, the Hon'ble the Premier, Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, initiated action for the preparation of a complete Scheme for Compulsory Primary Education. Since the work involved in its preparation was extensive and varied, a special committee was appointed to undertake this. The Vidya Mandir Scheme is the fruit of the labours of the committee.

There are at present 5,799 primary schools in this province with 462,824 children. The number of children in schools between the ages of 6 and 11 represents 14 per cent of the children of this age group in the province. The expenditure on primary education at present works out to 75, 45, 712 towards which Government contribution is 37, 88, 709. The total area of the province including the integrated states is 130,322 square miles. There are 46,000 villages in the province out of which 5,460 villages are still without schools. Thus the total population of the province which is provided with educational facilities is 28.5 per cent; the remaining 71.5 per cent is left without any educational facilities at all.

While we need to provide compulsory primary education for all between the ages 6 to 11 on the new lines, i.e., on the lines of

basic education, our provincial revenue is too small to bear this expenditure. Moreover, the State cannot obviously concentrate expenditure on only one particular stage of education. It is for these reasons that a new scheme characterised by boldness and imagination has to be worked out inasmuch as ordinary measures and normal methods of financing education will prove utterly inadequate for a task of such proportions. And yet it will be dangerous to keep such a large population in ignorance for all time to come. There is no greater danger to the security of a State that its uneducated or ill-educated population.

Vidya Mandir Scheme. When the Congress Party first assumed office in this province, in 1936, the Hon'ble Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, the then Minister for Education, felt deeply concerned over the state of illiteracy and the appallingly slow progress of elementary education. The financial limitation of the State Exchequer which would not permit of any large-scale provision in the development of primary education was, he felt, a challenge to statesmanship. He realised that any conventional scheme of free and compulsory primary education would swallow up the best part of the provincial revenue if not the whole of it. He therefore set about devising a plan with the following objectives:-

(i) to enlist the co-operation of the people of the villages in the establishment of schools,

(ii) to make the village school financially autonomous as far as possible and to free state finances as best as possible from the heavy burden of meeting the cost of the spread of elementary education in rural areas,

(iii) to graft the school on the life of rural society,

(iv) to transform the school from being merely an institution for formal learning into a centre for all round development of the village community.

This scheme, called the Vidya Mandir Scheme, has had to face a severe trial during its operation. Public opinion has been very ill-informed regarding the success or otherwise of this great experiment, nor is it normally realised that the Vidya Mandirs had to struggle for existence for the most part of their lives under very adverse and even hostile circumstances.

As a result of the working of the Vidya Mandir Scheme during the past ten years sufficient data are now available to judge whether educationally the Scheme has worked satisfactorily or not, whether financially it has the prospect of proving a success, and whether, in the light of experience gained, it is possible to provide other profit yielding industries and trades besides agriculture to ensure and augment the income of the Vidya Mandir.

A committee of Educational experts has carefully examined all these questions and has submitted a comprehensive report which Government are now scrutinizing in all its aspects. It is expected that a decision on the scheme will soon be taken, and thereafter he revised scheme will be implemented.

While the Vidya Mandir Scheme awaits implementation Government have, as an immediate measure, decided to open, a large number of primary schools in various districts. Besides these, under the Backward Areas Welfare Scheme, primary schools in the neglected rural areas are to be opened at the rate of 50 school per year of five years. In the integrated States 154 primary schools are to be opened in the current year.

Government have sanctioned increase in the maintenance grants to primary schools to enable them to pay their teachers a minimum basic salary of Rs. 30 a month and a minimum dearness allowance of Rs. 1'1 a month. In preparation for full compulsion at the primary stage for all boys and girls between the ages of six and 11 compulsory primary education has been enforced in 34 urban and eight rural areas. At present only boys are compelled to attend schools in these areas, attendance of girls being still voluntary throughout the province. It is expected that when a working Scheme like the Vidya Mandir Scheme is set in motion it will be possible to bring every child between the ages of six and 14 under a system of education for life, which will be efficient without being costly and comprehensive without being academic.

IV. SECONDARY EDUCATION

In accordance with the principle that in education Government should step in where private enterprise fails, it was decided to open high schools for boys and girls in predominantly rural areas, as the

tendency hitherto had been for High Schools to be concentrated in urban areas, and secondary schools for girls had been practically ignored by private bodies. Eleven high schools for girls and nine for boys have accordingly been opened by Government in those areas in the interior where there was demand for Secondary Education. It as felt that unless such school centres were opened in the interior, "the common man" would be deprived of most of the opportunities which modern society offers in its various economic, social and cultural fields.

The High School Education Act has been reviewed and amended to enable the secondary schools to serve their true purpose in a democratic society. A scheme of reorganization of secondary education is receiving the final consideration of Government and may be introduced in the schools next year, which will and purpose, and enable it to be no longer a hand-maid to the university education but a complete and self-contained training in the varied fields of life. This training will consist of different courses each centering round a "core" subject with a definite bias and providing the pupils with education suited to their aptitudes and abilities.

Concessions to backward communities and displaced persons. Students belonging to backward communities have been allowed reservation of seats in Government Secondary School to the extent of 15 per cent of the total enrollment. Students admitted to the reserved seats have been allowed exemption from payment of tuition fees, provided their parents satisfy a means test. Non-Government schools have been requested to fall in line. With a view to providing facilities for the education of evacuees from Pakistan, instructions have been issued to heads of recognized schools in the province to permit admission of evacuee students in the schools without production of any document normally required for the purpose. Students found fit for admission to classess X and XI of a high school will be permitted to take any subject or subjects taught in that school irrespective of the divergence between the syllabus obtaining in this province and that followed by the evacuee students previous to their migration to the Indian Dominion, with a view to enabling them to offer a suitable combination of subjects permissible under the regulations of the Central Provinces and Berar High School Education Board. Should such combination be not possible on

account of the limited number of subjects taught in schools. These students are permitted to study privately and to offer them for the High School Certificate Examination. The management of non-government schools have also been requested to make every possible effort to afford maximum facilities to every evacuee student.

V. UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

At the University stage of education the most outstanding event in the last three years is the establishment of the Saugor University which was made possible through the munificence of that distinguished son of this province, Dr. Hari Singh Gour. In the brief period that the University has been working, it has achieved considerable many-sided development. When a permanent abode for the University is constructed and properly equipped, it will materially augment and advance the scope of higher education in the province.

The demand for large-scale industrial progress of the country has, in recent times, given a fillip to scientific studies in our colleges and universities. The accommodation in the existing has had to be increased by working double shift. A College of Science has been opened at Raipur to meet the growing demand for higher education in the Chhattisgarh Division and the Integrated States. Government have also given financial aid to Nagpur University to open Bio-Chemistry and Geology Departments.

In the field of higher education more than in any other type of education, large-scale re-organization has to be attempted on an all-India basis. Government of India have appointed a University Commission to examine the entire field and make suitable recommendations for reform. Provincial Government have therefore refrained from proceeding with an independent programme of reform in the interest of all-Indian uniformity.

VI. TECHNICAL EDUCATION

One of the grave defects in the present system of education in our country is that there is no real partnership between Education and Industry. This results in a shortage of skilled craftsmen and slowing

down of industrial development, and much of the talent and ability of the nation is wastefully directed to purely academic channels. With the prospect of far-reaching industrial expansion in all provinces the need to train skilled artisans, trained technicians and research workers has assumed national importance.

The Central Advisory Board of Education in their report on Post-war Educational Development have rightly pointed out that higher technical training and research will have to be organized on an all-India basis by Central Government who will have to shoulder, at least in part, the financial responsibility for it. The All-India Council of Technical Education has accordingly drawn up a scheme for establishing four Higher Technical Institutes on the lines of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for training skilled research workers. All-India Research Physical Laboratory at Delhi and the National Chemical Laboratory at Poona, have already begun to function.

While all these are very encouraging development for the future of technical education in this country, they have to be supplemented by a large network of smaller technical institutions in the various provinces organized and financed by the province for training artisans, technicians and skilled workers. The Technical Education Committee of the Board of Education has drawn up a commendable scheme by which boys at the post-primary stage will be directed either to Technical High Schools which give full time training for six years or to academic High Schools. There will also be Junior Technical Schools or Trade Schools for those leaving the Senior Basic Schools and not desiring a High School course. Higher technical education at the University Stage leading to an Engineering Degree also is the responsibility of the Provinces.

Provision for Technical Education in our Province has been lamentably poor. There were a few industrial school-three Government Schools of Handicrafts and nine Government aided schools—which gave elementary instruction to children at the past-primary stage in carpentry, blacksmithy, boot-making, tailoring and cottage industries, such as cotton-weaving, carpet and durrie weaving, toy-making and lacquer work, cane and basket work. But these institutions made very little impression upon the educational

system, as in all the years of their existence they were able to train only 2,160 artisans.

A beginning in the systematic training of technicians and skilled workers was made with the establishment of a Technical High School at Jubbulpore called "Kala Niketan". It was opened in temporary buildings in 1947-48 with two classes which would develop into a full-fledged High School at the end of the quenium. On the 29th October 1948, the Hon'ble Premier laid the foundation stone of the new building and rapid progress has been made in its construction. As the Premier said on that occasion, this will be a unique institution for training able young men who will man the grown industries and trades in the province. While the primary function of technical training is to produce craftsmen, technicians and research workers who will be absorbed in commerce and industry, it should at the same time be a part of the general education of the student and the training of the citizen. It should also impart that grounding in the basic principles of science without which all technical training is inclined to be superficial. The courses of instruction designed in the Kala Niketan are framed to meet these requirements. During the seven years of study the students is enabled to develop his aptitudes, acquire a practical bias, and choose the branch of training best suited to him. Provision is made for teaching technical subjects, such as Engineering, mechanical, electrical and civil-vocational subjects like carpentry, furniture making, clay-modelling, metal work, and general workshop practice in smithy, foundry, carpentry, etc.

When the school begins to work in its full strength from classes V to XI it will provide instruction to 320 students in the Middle School clases and 210 students in the High School. Great expectations are rightly entertained of this institution are rightly entertained of this institution which by equipping the young for industrial vocation or career will help in the speedy development of our natural wealth and resources. Next year three Junior Technical Schools are also to be opened in suitable places.

In other directions too Government have promoted technical education by expanding the facilities in existing institutions. At the Government School of Handicrafts at Nagpur and the Government Marathi School at Amraoti courses in Elementary Engineering are to

be opened for the benefit of the students of these institutions. The Leather Training Institute has been revived, and two trainees have been sent to Calcutta for training in tanning. The Engineering School at Nagpur has been considerably expanded and new subjects such as Electrical Engineering, Architecture and Commercial Art have been introduced. Workshop training is given in Government Central Workshop to 40 trainees from the Technical Institute at Koni-Bilaspur, and also to students from the Engineering School. In conjunction with Government of India, arrangements have been made for training 192 civilian trainees at the Technical and Vocational Training Centres at Koni.

By far the most important step in the promotion of technical education in the province is the establishment of an Engineering College at Jubbulpore. For higher education in Engineering we had to depend hitherto on a few seats reserved for students from this province in the Thomason Engineering College at Roorki and the College of Engineering at Madras for which Government paid a contribution. This was wholly inadequate for the growing needs of the province. In 1948 the Government opened the first Engineering College in the province located in part of Robertson College, Jubbulpore. Additional buildings are being constructed, and when Robertson College moves to its new premises, the Engineering College will be able to expand adequately and in all branches of Engineering.

VII. MILITARY EDUCATION

If a nation should uphold the freedom it has won and preserve it against all dangers external or internal, provision must be made for adequate military training for the youth. In the past the only available facility for military training was at the University stage in the Officers' Training Corps under the Indian Territorial force. The U. O. T. C. in this province had a strength of 600 and imparted training only in infantry. One of the first steps taken by Government in the post-freedom period was to extend and increase the scope for military training in schools as well as in colleges. The National Cadet Corps Act was passed by Government of India in April 1948, which provided for a comprehensive scheme financed by Provincial

Government except that the supervising Officers and instructors who are officers of the regular army are paid by the Ministry of Defence. With the establishment of the National Cadet Corps, the U. O. T. C. was disbanded and the Provincial Government taken the fullest advantages of the opportunities offered by the Defence department adopted the new scheme with effect from September 1948. The aim of the National code crops is to develop character, comradeship and qualities of service and leadership, to give the youth basic military training and encourage suitable young man to join the armed forces of the country; to stimulate in the younger generation an interest in national defence; and to build up a reserve of leaders who will be able to man the armed force in a national emergency.

With commendable promptness training in N. C. C. was started in our province in 1948, and 2,000 Junior Cadets from schools and 1000 Senior Cadet from colleges are now under training. Junior and Senior Division officers selected from among the school and college teachers are trained at the rate of one officer for 30 cadets. Officers of the regular army have been deputed by Government of India to organize and supervise this training. The First C. P. Battalion N. C. C., Nagpur, comprising four Companies. and the Second C. P. Battalion N. C. C., Jubbulpore, comprising two Companies and one Signal Corps unit have already been formed. An independent Company has been allotted to Saugar University. Further Expansion of the N. C. C. scheme is being actively considered; a Girls' Division is to be started for which a few women teachers have been sent for training; the strength of the existing Junior and Senior Divisions is to be increased; other technical arms like Artillery, Engineering and Medical Corps are to be started.

Government look upon this as a significant development with immense possibilities for the future. Opportunities to serve the country in this manner had been denied to our youths for two centuries and more. The freedom that has come will not be worth a moment's purchase if we cannot marshall the loyalty, patriotism and courage of the youth of the country in its defence. The new education is conscious of this vital need, and is conceived in the spirit of George Washington's famous dictum that to be well armed is the most effective assurance of peace.

Such, in brief, are some of the schemes that have been set in motion by Government to bring the people of the province some steps onwards from darkness to light. Education for industrial and economic prosperity, education for defence and security, education for culture, education of the child in the rudiments of learning, and, above all, education for citizenship such is the compass of reform that should transform the field of education in the fullness of time. If citizenship is not to be a delusion and a share, a sinister invention to corrupt our souls, we have to educate ourselves to exercise it in a spirit of dutifulness. The citizen of today has in theory the responsibility, shared no doubt with thousands of other, for the happiness and welfareof the community. In this sense he is a king in miniature, for he can make and unmake Governments and take a hand, though he is hardly conscious of it, in moulding their character and conduct. It behoves us therefore to see that the common man enters upon this colossal responsibility not uninstructed nor unprepared for his onerous duties.

15

D.P. Mishra and His Career

Pandit Dwarka Prasad Mishra was born on August 3, 1901. He comes from Brahmin family of Padri village, Unnao district, in Uttar Pradesh. His father, Pandit, Ayodhya Prasad Mishra, was a contractor working in Rajpur, Madhya Pradesh, where Mishra had his schooling. Dwarka Prasad had four brothers, who later lived with him. He was married at an early age, to Ram Devi. They had four sons and one daughter. After passing his Matriculation examination from the St. Paul's High School, Rajpur. Dwarka Prasad joined the Christ Church College, Kanpur. Later he took his first degree from the Robertson College, Jabalpur. Subsequently he joined the History Department, Allahabad University, for his M. A. and obtained the Law degree as well.

Pandit Mishra was inspired by the nationalist movement as it developed during the First World War period and was greatly influenced by the nationalist writing of the time. Thus, when Mahatma Gandhi started the non-cooperation movement, Dwarka Prasad gave up his studies and joined it. It was during that phase of the political struggle that he was drawn once more to the then Central Provinces and was brought into association with Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, Seth Govind Das, Brij Lal Biyani and Jamna Lal Bajaj, and organised the Congress activities in that Province with Jabalpur as its centre. When the movement was withdrawn, he joined the college again, but his political and journalistic activities did not suffer. As a student of the Allahabad University, he was elected to the Legislative Assembly as a Swarajist member, with

Pandit Motilal Nehru as his leader. From 1920 onwards he has been actively in the forefront if the national movement and was brought into close association with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and other national leaders. he joined the Civil Disobedience Movement and was in jail for a number of years, both then and late in 1942. But Pandit Mishra's greatest contribution has been in the legislative bodies and in the Government, when he became a Minister in 1937 and again in 1946.

Pandit Mishra was an ardent nationalist, whose political views have been influenced by his romantic love for ancient Indian culture. Like Tilak, he had an uncompromising faith in India's independence and would not tolerate British rule in any form. He was a vehement critic of the British bureaucratic administration, to which he attributed the backwardness of the Indian people and all the ills to which they were subject. His speech in the Legislative Assembly on March 15, 1928 on the issue of the appointment of an all white Statutory Commission was a condemnation of the British rule, and he held that communal disturbances were an outcome of the British ignorance of India's real condition. He declared, "If the bureaucracy is allowed to receive the Parliament as to the real conditions prevailing in India a day will surely come when England will lose India in a state of similar absent-mindedness." He opposed the distinction between the military and non-military castes as the principle sapped the manhood of India and demanded "democratic self-government. As regards imperial connection, he stood for complete independence but desired England "to come to some agreement with us, in her own interest" so that there might be an "honourable partnership".

He stood for industralisation, a rational rupee-sterling ratio as aid to a "stable economy". He did not want India to "be the field for England's outdoor relief and dumping ground for England's superfluous steel and superfluous sons over there." He believed in an industrialized self-sufficient economy.

In social and religious matters he was a nationalist who did not believe in the rigidity of caste system and superstitious ritualism. His views found expression in his epic poem 'Krishnayan' which he wrote to focus the attention on the current problems in the background of Krishna's life and work. In this book his dream of a

happy and free India, in which the highest welfare of the people is served, has been portrayed.

He used journalism, books and public platforms to express his view. He was a Minister in the Congress governments of 1937 and 1946 in the Central Provinces. He was also for some time Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh. He edited the Lokmat, the Sharda and the Saarthi in Hindi. He was a Member of the Legislative Assembly of India and president of the Jabalpur Municipality, and he crystallised the Congress party in the Central Provinces, and later in Madhya Pradesh. He was respected as a veteran Congress leader of all-India stature.

16

Land and The People

SOCIAL LIFE

Traditional Social Set-up

As in other regions of the country, so also in Madhya Pradesh the traditional Aryan social order of the four *varnas* and the four *asramas* prevailed. The literary and archaeological source material indicate that, side by side this social order, the aboriginal societies lived peacefully in various parts of central India.

It is interesting to note that, as in other parts so also in the region of Madhya Pradesh, several foreign elements were assimilated in the main stream of Indian society. The Greeks, Scytho Parthians, Kushanas and other foreigners, who came to central India before the advent of Islam, were absorbed in the social mileu of the country. As in the proto-historic times, so also during the historical period the cases of Indian rulers and others marrying the non-Aryan girls are known. Kuberanga, the wife of Chandragupta Vikramaditya, was a Naga girl. Laksmikarna, the ruler of Tripuri, married a Huna princess named Avalladevi.

Among the main four castes the Brahmanas enjoyed some special privileges. They were granted land by the ruling section. The donee Brahmanas were required to be well versed in scriptures. Their sons and grandsons enjoyed the grants of land given to them. The only condition with the successors was that they should continue to perform the duties of Brahmanas. Otherwise there was every possibility of the grant being confiscated from them. The Brahmanas, well versed in the Vedic lore, were given preference over others. References are found to the Brahmanas versed in various branches.

The rulers and the people from the business and other communities respected the learned Brahmanas. The rulers of the Sunga, Satavahana, Gupta and Vakataka dynasties pay due respect to them. In the courts of the rulers of the Gurjara-Pratihara, Paramara, Kulacuri, Somavamsi and other early mediaeval dynasties learned Brahmanas were invited even from far-off places.

Besides performing their duties as teachers and writers, some Brahmanas were appointed to high officials posts in the State. Reference may be made to the region of Malwa where Brahmanas from Mathura, Sthanesvara, Ahicchatra, Lata Desa, Manyakheta, Karnataka and other places had come and settled. Similar was the case with other regions, where the Brahmanas from Kashmir, Kanyakubja, Mithila and other places had come.

To the Kshatriyas was assigned the chief duty of protection and administration of the State. They were learned in various branches, particularly in the state craft. The privileges of royalty were enjoyed by the Kshatriyas. There were, however, exceptional cases of the Brahmanas and the Vaisyas becoming rulers.

The vaisyas were to look after agriculture, business and trade. Various communities of the Vaisyas had formed their guides, which took necessary steps towards the economic development. Centres such as Vidisha, Ujjayini, Dasapura, Maihar, Nasik and Bharukaccha were great centres of their activity.

The communities of Kayasthas, architects, sculptors, gold-and blacksmiths, weavers, carpenters, etc. are mentioned in the inscriptions of the region.

The sudras were regarded as low in comparison with the status of others. But they were not treated as slaves by the higher castes. They contributed to the development of the State in a number of ways. An inscription from Khalari of Vikram samvat 1470 (= 1413 A.D) mentions that a temple in honour of god Narayana (Visnu) was built by a shoe-maker, called Devapala. (Mirashi, Corpus,).

Both the anuloma and pratiloma forms of marriage were current in the region. This is borne out by the epigraphical and other evidences.

Inscriptions on the Social Life

From very early times *varna* and *asrama* have been the two important institutions of Indian society. In the inscriptions of Asoka the *brahmanas*, *sramanas* and *ajvikas* are mentioned. They enjoyed a high position in the society. Asoka endeavoured to guard the interests of all religious sects impartially. It was his ardent desire to establish '*dharma vijaya*' (victory of virtue) both within and outside his empire. He appointed special officers, called the "*Dharma Mahmiaras*', for the religious and welfare of the people. His inscription found at Gujarra in the Datia district of M.P. refers to the special proclamation, made during the *dharmayatra*, that the both poor and rich should emulate him in the practice of *Dharma*. This, according to Asoka, would make all the people fit for commingling with the God. His new inscription found at Pangudaria in the Sehore district is also of unusual importance in this respect.

During the Sunga-Satavahana period the Vedic religion became more popular than Buddhism both in the North and South. The Bhagavata-Vaisnavas religion had now gained ground. Apart from Vaisnavism, Saivism and other Vedic-Puranic pantheons were also assuming importance.

The inscription of Bharhut and Sanchi throw interesting light on the social condition of 2nd-1st centuries B. C. During that time polygamy was customary with the rulers and the higher sections. The joint family system was also prevalent in the society. The head of the family *(kula)* was called Grihapati.

During the Ksatrapa-Kushana rule, there was a fresh revival of Buddhism. It received a fillip at the hands of the rulers and several sections of the society. The inscriptions evidence confirms this. The Bhagavata and Savia religions also flourished simultaneously.

The Golden Age of the Guptas was marked by an all-round development of the society. It was a period of revivalism in almost all the spheres of life and thought. The inscriptional of the Gupta period throw light on advanced social conditions, which were responsible for a high social order that could appreciate the aesthetic sense in human life and the Nature.

The *Sati* custom was known in central India in quite early times. The earliest evidence, so far known in the country, is

furnished by a Brahmi inscription of the 2nd century A.D. inscribed on a stone pillar found at village Balod in the Durg district of Madhya Pradesh (Cunnigham, *ASI, AR*, Vol. VIII, pp. 136-137). The Eran inscription of the Gupta era 191 (=510-11 A.D) provides another interesting epigraphic evidence pertaining to the *Sati* custom. It mentions that in the Company of the powerful Gupta king Bhangupta, a noble (probably against the Hunasa). Goparaja was killed and his wife became *Sati* by burning herself on his funeral pyre. The said inscribed pillar was set up to commemorate the event.

Records of the mediaeval period throw light on the social structure of the times. The caste system was prevalent in the society, at the apex of which were the Brahmanas. The contemporary inscription give an idea of the privileged of the Brahmanas. The inscription of the Candellas often refer to a Brahmana as a Pandita, Thakura or a Bhatta. A Kalacuri inscription of Karanadeva dated the Kalacuri era (= 1049-50 A. D) from Simariya gives details of the gotras, pravaras and sakhas of the Brahmana donees. The inscriptions of the Paramaras refer to the fact that a large number of families of Brahmanas migrated from other places and settled down in Malwa. The movement of people from one place to another was quite common during the time. The Gwalior inscription of the Pratihara ruler Bhoja tells us that Nogabhata had migrated from Anandapura in the Latamandala (Gujarat).

Several inscriptions of the period mention Kshatriyas with the *kula* and *gotra* names of their *purohiata*. The Ajayagrah inscription of the time of Parmardi refers to a Rawata of the Kshatriya caste. The Ahar inscription of the Gurjara-Pratihara mentions a Kshatriya merchant called Sihaka, son of Icchuka. The Vaisyas were known as a rich class, who made donations to the religious and social institutions. The surdas occupied the lowest rank in the society. A Candella inscription indicates that the Kayasthas enjoyed some privileges in the 11th century A. D. The Rewa inscription of K. E. 800 (=1042.43 A.D) gives a mythical account of the origin of the Kayasthas.

Out of the four *asrams*, the *grihasthasrama* occupied a prominent position. It was still regarded as the chief *asrama*, supporting the other three *asramas*.

From the Khajuraho inscription of the Candella ruler Harsa, we learn that the marriage was strictly confined to the parties belonging to the same caste. During the period, early marriage of girls had become customary.

The practice of *Sati* was also gradually growing. A large number of inscriptions, known from Badoh-Pathari, Gwalior and other places indicate that the sati custom had considerably grown during the early and late mediaeval periods.

Epigraphic records furnish an important source-material for the study of the historical geography on India. The number of records referring to different janapadas, mountains, rivers, lakes, forests, towns, etc. is considerably large. Interesting information is available in them pertaining to religious and trade routes in and out side India. The cultural relation which existed in the past between his country and other lands are also referred to in several nscriptions. The details known from some of these records are confirmed by other sources, such as literature, numismatics, foreign accounts, excavations and fine arts.

The numerous edicts of Asoka found in India and in the contiguous regions of North-West give interesting and useful eferences to several geographical names. The relations of the Maurya emperor with the Atavikas, and with the Indian people living outside the borders of his empire are also hinted at in some of his edicts. Similarly, Asoka had mentioned the names of several foreign Greek kings with whom he had cordial relations.

A few years ago a new minor rock edict has been discovered at a site called Pan-gudaria in the Sehore district of Madhya Pradesh. In this edict the region south of Vidisha is mentioned as *majhema desa*. According to the inscription, a Buddhist monastey was set up at the site and was called *upanitha vihara*. The site of Pangudaria was on the route going from Vidisha to south India after crossing the river Narmada.

The recent discover of the label Kharosti inscriptions at a place called Chilas in present Pakistan, on the old silk route, is quite significant. These are written below the carved figures of several deities. In the label inscription below the figure of Krisna, he is called Vasudeva and Balarma is mentioned as Baladeva. These

records can be assigned to C. 1st century B. C.

The post-Asokan inscription (between C. 200 B. C. and 319 A. D.) are very valuable from the point of view of historical geography. They contain useful accounts not only in regard to various place-names, etc. but also throw welcome light on the internal and external routes and on various facts of cultural geography. Names of important towns, such as Puskalavati, Vahlika, Takasila, Ujjayini, Vidisha, Mathura, Kausambi, Sravasti, Pratisthana, Kanchi, etc. find mention in several inscription, seals, sealings and coins.

After the Greeks and Scythians, the Kushanas had their centre at Vəhlika for a considerable period. In their inscriptions they call themselves 'devaputra' (son of God). They were god-sent emperors for keeping their hegemony over the entire world. Later in the Gupta emperor imbibed, to some extent, this conception of the Kushanas.

From the inscriptional evidence we know that names of some of the cities, like Vahlika, were very popular. There came to be a new Vahlika-Vahlika (modern Balish in Baluchistan) and another town called Valkha (near modern Bagh, in the Dhar district of Madhya Pradesh).

The identification of Kapilavastu is an interesting land mark of the recent archaeological field work. The excavation at Piprahwa in the Basti district of U.P. has brought to light a good number of seals and sealings referring to the Buddhist Bhiksus of *Devaputra-vihar* of Kapilavastu. This has proved that ancient Kapilavastu, the capital of king Suddhodana, was located near present Piprahwa.

Similarly, the identifications of several ancient towns, such as Kausambi, Airikina, Pundra-nagara, Karnasuvarna, etc. have finally been proved with the help of inscriptions.

The Gupta period ushered in a full-fledged conception of *cakravati-ksetra.* In Kautilya's *Arthasastra* we come across this idea. But a clear implementation to it was given by the Gupta monarchs, when the entire country was regarded as one unit. Samudragupta was the first monarch, who conceived of a country wide hegemony based on the principles enunciated by Kautilya and referred to in the works like the Vishnu Purana. The various campaigns of Samudragupta, a true Aryan emperor, throughout the

length and breadth of the country are a pointer to the direction of the *cakravarti* ideal. His long inscription, giving an expression to this conception, is incised on the very engraved. The Gupta emperor probably desired to show the greatness of the Vedic tradition over the Buddhist political and religious ideals.

Apart from the inscriptions of Asoka, a large number of early epigraphs are known from Bharhut, Sanchi, Mathura, Amarvati, Nagarjunikonda, Kanheri, Nasik and various other sites. They furnish much valuable material bearing on ancient Indian society.

The Village Life and Folk Cultures

Major parts of the extensive region of the present Madhya Pradesh are covered by hillocks and forests. In the past, these areas had more dense forests. The words such as *Vindhyavatavi* and *Mahakantara* and their descriptions in ancient literature attest to it.

The Vindhyas and the Satpuras form the main mountain-range in Madhya Pradesh. The chief rivers of this region, on the banks of which a variegated plethora of cultures flourished from the pre-historic times onwards, are Chambal, Betwa, Sone, Tapti and Mahanadi. The mountain-ranges, river and thick forests, along with the climatic conditions, were responsible not only for the creation of a rich florja and fauna in Madha Pradesh but they also had their impact on the development of the cultural pattern of the region.

In the proto-historic times the present Malwa, particularly its eastern and south-eastern parts, made a more rapid cultural development than the other parts of Madhya Pradesh. The chief reason for this was that, apart from enjoying a bracing climate, the area of Malwa was connected with the north-western main route, on which were located the towns of Ahar, Kalibanga and still further, Harappa, the chief centre of a great Chalcolithic civilization. The Malwa area was also joined with the Arbian sea-coast. Similarly, a north-eastern main route joined Ujjayini, Mahismati and Vidihsa with Kausambi and Pataliputra.

The pre-historic face of Madhya Pradesh is much more distinct now than it was in the beginning of the present century. Explorations in the State have brought to light a very large number of pre-historic stone tools of various types. The recent discoveries of several

thousands of rock-shelters, mostly having archaic paintings, are now utilized with great advantage to unravel the mysteries of the life of cave men. Quite a large number of painted rock-shelter have been found in the districts of Sehore, Bhopal, Raisen, Hoshangabad and Sagar. These districts are located in the Narmada-Betwa valleys. Very recently several hundred such shelters, having interesting painting in them, have been discovered near Bhanpur in the Mandsaur district.

This plentiful interesting evidence of rock-painting can be assigned to a considerably wide range of period, from the pre-historic times to about the 14th century. A. D. The colours used in the painting are usually red, ocher, yellow, green and blue. The scenes portrayed in most of the shelters show various types of animal, birds, snakes and other reptiles, rivers, trees, hunting scenes and animal fights. Domestic life of the cave men is also represented in the paintings through music, dance, fire, worship. Honey-collecting, etc. It is interesting to note that the evolution of the forest human society is discernible in the rock paintings. The aspects of individual dwelling of small groups, and later on of much larger groups, living together, can be gleaned after a study of these paintings.

During the proto-historic times, when the construction of huts and mud-houses was known, the dewllers came into contact with the villagers who were usually settled on the banks of rivers. This gradually resulted in transactions of articles between the foresters and the village-people. In some of the rock-paintings are seen interesting depictions of carriers of behagis (*Sanskrit* vihangikas) used for carrying articles to some distant placcs. In quite a good number of rock paintings are portrayed different types of weapons and other implements, which were used by the cave-dwellers. Such weapons have been discovered in several caves at Abchand (Dist., Sagar), Adamgarh (Dist, Hoshangabad), Kharwari (Dist. Raisen) and Bhim Baithka (Dist. Sehore). They are in the form of microlithic tools, such as blades, knives and arrow-heads.

The excavations conducted at some of the rock-shelter sites, such as Bhim Baithka (near Barkera), Adamgarh and Kharwari, have brought to light interesting evidence bearing on the life of archaic people. The Bhim Baithka excavations have revealed a cultural sequence right from the late Stone Age to the early historical period.

The palaeolithic phase there was followed by the people using microlithic. They were succeeded by the groups of people using chalcolithic pottery, known as the Malwa ware. At Adamgarh, microlithic tools, pottery and other objects have been found in rich quantities. At Kharwai, a chalcolithic phase has come to light apart from the fact that the people there had known the construction of good defence devices to protect themselves. Several structures have also been discovered at Kharwai, which may be called the precursors of the later megaliths.

The proto-historic cultural phase of Madhya Pradesh is quite interesting. Apart from the painted rock-shelters, which have furnished a rich source for our knowledge of the archaic folk life, the excavations and explorations conducted at several sites have brought to light valuable material pertaining to this phase. The recent studies have shown that is was on the banks of three rivers, Chambal, Betwa and Narmada, that the village life flourished. Some of the villages in course of time assumed the forms of towns. A clear sequence of cultures, which developed on the banks of these rivers, is now known from about the beginning of the 2nd millennium B. C. to C. 600 B. C The important chalcolithic sites of Madhya Pradesh so far excavated and explored are: Maheshwar-Navadatoli, Kayatha, Eran, Nagda and Pipalya-Lorka. Maheshwar-Navadatoli, on the river Narmada, was the first chalcolithic site in Madhya Pradesh which was excavated under the direction of Dr. H. D. Sankalia. Period I there starts at C. 1700 B. C. The excavations have shown that the chalcolithic people of Maheshwar-Navadatoli built thatch-roofed mud houses and produced several grains.

Kayatha near Ujjain is another important chalcolithic site excavated by Dr. V. S. Wakanakar. He had designed the earliest phase at Kayatha as 'Pre-Harappan culture-complex'. The earliest phase at Kayatha, in my opinion, should be taken as the basic ingredient of the Malwas chaleotithic culture. It should better be termed as the 'Malwa Chalcolithic Complex'. The regional variations in fabric, types and painted designs known from Kayatha and other chalcolithic sites, should be studied on a comparative basis before arriving at any conclusions pertaining to nomenclature and cultural diffusions.

Eran (Dist., Sagar) has been excavated under the direction of the present author. Some important Carbon-14 dates of its chalcolithic phases are now known to us *vis-a-vis* the dates of some other sites in M.P. and Rajasthan. It may be pointed out here that in the Eran excavations iron has been found in a almost all the layers up to layer no. 16. Its early phase can be bracketed between C. 1300 B.C. and 700 B. C. The associated objects are unpainted black and red ware. Terracotta beads and beads of shell, paste and semiprecious stones along with terra-cotta human figures, shell bangles and microliths of various types. It shows that the people at Eran had known the use of iron as early as C. 1300 B. C.

The recent excavations at Nagda and Pipalya-Lorka (near Bhopal) have furnished evidence bearing on the material culture of the chalcolithic village-people.

Ancient Indian literature, particularly the two great Epics and some of the early Puranas, throw light on the life of the cave men and of those inhabiting the asramas of sages and ordinary villages. These habitations were appropriately caved *janasthanas* to differentiate them from other kinds of habitats. The Ramayana of Valmiki mentions rock-shelters as *Kandara, nirdara, guhas* and *darli.* In the Ayodhyakanda we read about some beautiful man-made rock-shelters. A few of these are still preserved at the present site of Chitrakuta. Details about construction of the rock shelters are also found in the Ramayana (11,80,7) etc.

In the Ramayan and the Puranas, references to the hermitages of sages are mentioned. Some of them were located close to riverbanks, where open air sits were preferred for putting up thatched habitations *(parnasalas).*

The locations of the *asramas* and other important habitations from north to south, as known from the Ramayana, the Puranas and the works of Kaildasa, were in the following order:

Bharadvaja-*asrama*, Chitrakuta, hermitage of Valmiki, Atri, Sarabhanga, Sutiksna and Agastya. South of the asrama of Agastya was Panchavati near the banks of the river Godavari, where Rama lived for sometimes. To the south of Panchavati were located Pampa and Rishyamuka.

The ancient literature throws interesting light on the life and material culture of the people inhabiting the region stretched from Chitrakuta to the Rishyamuka hills. These people were the Nishadas, the Sabaras, the Vanaras, the Rikshas and others. They were devoted to their professions and followed their own codes of conduct. They were usually peace-loving people, bound together by the administrative regulations of their own. Their pattern of life was different from that of the turbulent Rakshasas.

The Vanaras and the Rikshas wielded more power than other inhabitants of the extensive forest region of central India. This is borne out by the literary references to them. Sri Rama, releasing their importance, made them his allies to fight against the Rakshasas led by Ravana. It appears that the Vanaras and Rikshas had entered into analiance and had formed a confederacy. This can be gleaned from a reference to Sugriva, who, after the death of Vali, was made the king of the Sangha of all the Rikshas and Vanaras.

As regards the folk cultures and village life in the early historical period, the numerous art relics from Bharhut, Sanchi, Nachna, Bhumra, Pawaya, Malhar, Khajuraho and other sites throw ample light. The inspirational evidence is also of considerable interest in this connection. The reference to the people residing on the Vindhya range and to the eighteen forest kingdom (*atavika rajyas)* are quite significant.

Various types of folk entertainment's were arranged in rock shelters and open air theatres. Some inscriptions refer to *Sabarotsavas* (the festivals of the primitive Sabara people). The Brahmi inscriptions at Ramagarh (Ramagiri of Kalidasa) in the Surguja Dist. of Madhya Pradesh refer to a proficient dramatist (*rupadaksha),* called Devdatta, and to his lady companion Devadasi Sutanuka. Here we come across the earliest epigraphic reference to a Devadasi, who participated in dramatic performances. The inscription are incised on the walls and ceilings of the theatre hewen out of rock at Ramagarh.

Kalidasa has referred to the rock shelters in the lower hillocks near Vidisha. Some of these shelters were used by youthful lovers and their consorts for amorous dalliances.

Writers like Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti and Banabhatta have given interesting descriptions of the life of primitive people of central India. In this *Harshacharita*, Bana has given a vivid description of the Vindhya Tavi (Vindhya forest) and the small villages located therein.

The work gives a graphic account of such a village, where water fruits and products of various types were available. Some of the villagers had acquired the rudimentary knowledge of agriculture and produced grains and roots in their small lands. The life of the Sabaras of the Vindhya forest is also minutely described on that work.

The Modern Phase of Tribal Life

It is well known that a sizable population of Madhya Pradesh is represented by several tribes and other backward people. Out of 45 districts of M. P., 13 have tribal preponderance. These 13 districts are: Bastar, Betul, Bilaspur, Chhindwara, Dhar, Jhaba, Khargone, Raigarh, Raipur, Surguja, Senoni, Shahdol and Sidhi. Besides these tribals and the backward class people are inhabiting in several other district, such as Durg, Guna, Mandla and Rajnandgaon.

The list of the tribals is quite large. Among them, mention may be made of the Gonds, Baigas, Bhils, Nishads, Mundias, Agarias, Jogis, Banjaras, Kanjars and other. Several of these class trace their origin to ancient Indian races. Some of them distinctly claim their ancestry to the early Aryans and other communities of hoary antiquity inhabiting the valleys of Yamuna, narmada, Betwa, Chambal and Godvari.

It is wrong the suppose that the tribals and other backward communities of the present Madhya Pradesh had no association, whatsoever, with the early civilized or semi-civilized people mentioned in the Atharvaveda, the two great epics, the Puranas and other early works. Several foreign writers in the past (and even in the present times) have done great injustice to the history and culture of these communities by pointing out to their so-called "alien traits not commensurate with those of the Indian main culture complex". Such writers conveniently forget the simple fact that most of the tribal

people still follow some of the socio-religious practices of the Vedic-Puranic faiths.

It may be clearly stated that during their past history of thousands of years, the tribals have been an integral part of Indian culture and they have never thought of Indian culture as anything alien to theirs. It is a matter of pride for this country that a genuine idea of cultural synthesis among the people of various regions has permeated throughout the long history of this land.

LIST OF SCHEDULED TRIBES IN MADHYA PRADESH

According to the census of 1971, the details regarding the Tribes in the States are as given below:

S.No.	*Name of the Tribe*	*Population*	*Males*	*Females*
1.	Agaria	17,458	8,918	8,540
2.	Andh	5	1	4
3.	Baiga	1,72,540	87,885	84,655
4.	Bhaina	24,584	12,327	12,257
5.	Bharia, Bhumia or Bhuinhar, Bhumia (including Pando)	1,15,493	58,209	57,284
6.	Bhatra	70,310	34,733	35,577
7.	Bhil	12,833	6,684	6,149
8.	Bhillala	9,382	4,821	4,561
9.	Bhil and Bhillala (Barela, Patelia & with other sub-tribes)	15,73,390	7,94,611	7,78,779
10.	Bhumia (Bharia & Paliha)	28,879	14,824	14,055
11.	Bhunjia	5,985	2,979	3,006
12.	Biyar	3,856	1,931	1,925
13.	Binjhwar	56,166	27,920	28,246
14.	Brhul or Birhor	738	376	362
15.	Dhanwar	23,991	12.091	11.900
16.	Gadba/Godba	3,708	1.753	1.955

17. Gond	28,346	14,572	13,744
18. Gond or Doria Gond, Agaria, Asur, Bari, Maria or Badramaria, Chhota Maria, Undami Maria, Dhruya Dhruva, Dhoba, Dhulia, Gaiki, Gatta or Gatti, Gaita, Gond, Gonwari, Pahari, Mari, Kandra, Kalanaga, Khatola, Koitar, Koya, Khirwar or Khirwara, Kuchamaria, Kuchaki, Maria, Mena, Mannever, Mobhaya or Mogia or Mongya, Muria, Nagarchi, Nagwanchi Ojha, Raj, Sonjhari Jhareka, Thatia or Thotya, Baremaria or Baremaria			
19. Gond or Daroi	79,401	40,574	38,827
20. Gond with Pathari	4,30,241	2,15,141	2,15,100
21. Halba or Halbi	1,69,069	83,729	85,327
22. Kamar	19,741	9,822	9,919
23. Karka	9,985	5,131	4,854
24. Kawar, Kanwar, Kaur, Cherwa, Rathia, Tanwar or Chhatti	408,061	2,02,720	2,05,341
25. Kir	5,986	3,130	2,656
26. Khaimar	31,092	15,750	15,342
27. Khariwar (with Kodar)	30,35	15,740	14,625
28. Kharia	22,924	11,354	11,570
29. Kol (Dhaiwat)	3,48,622	1,76,410	1,72,214
30. Kol	1,01,085	49,988	51,097
31. Kolam (Kondh or Khond or Kandh)	321	113	208
32. Kondh or Khond or Kandh	6,762	3,343	3,419
33. Korka	26,585	13,510	13,075
34. Korku (Bopchi, Moaasi, Nehal or Nahul & Bondh or			

Bondeya)	1,80,594	88,903	91,691
35. Korwa (Koraka)	66,944	33,818	33,126
36. Manjhi	4,064	2,166	1,989
37. Manjhwar	33,270	16,623	16,647
38. Mawasi	8,695	4,556	4,319
39. Mina	1,182	611	571
40. Mongia	1,206	571	635
41. Munda	13,517	6,726	6,791
42. Nagesia or Nagasia	60,328	30,739	29,569
43. Nat, Navdigar, Sapera & Kubuttar	7,447	3,941	3,506
44. Nihal	5,082	2,749	2,333
45. Uraon, Dharnka (including dhangar)	3,65,691	1,80,820	1,84,871
46. Panika	42,488	21,530	20,958
47. Pao	23,004	11,696	11,308
48. Pardhan, Pathari & Saroti	66,144	33,151	32,993
49. Pardhi	1,275	688	587
50. Paradhi (Bahelia or Bahellia, Chita	10,545	3,395	5,150
Pardhi, Langoli Pardhi, Sekari,			
Taknkar & Takia)			
51. Parja	8,267	4,180	4,087
52. Saharia, Sosia or Sor	6,255	3,310	2,945
53. Saharia	5,150	2,636	2,514
54. Saunta	9,653	4,773	4,880
55. Saunr	27,601	14,122	13,479
56. Sawar or Sawara	58,495	29,112	29,383
57. Seharia	1,88,655	96,632	92,023
58. Seharia or Saharia	1,748	888	860
59. Sonj	1,149	639	510

60. Other Miscellaneous	29,487	15,144	14,343
Total population	82,44,072	41,23,043	41,21,029

Among the tribes of Madhya Pradesh the Gonds and the Bhumias are among the wide-spread communities. A brief account of their caste-organisation, as narrated by Stephen Fuchs' is given here:

The Gonds

The Gonds, who like to call themselves thakur (landlords) or kisan (farmers), are proud to belong to the great Gond caste. They well aware of the fact that they are a strong race and at one time were the rulers of Gondwana. Beyond this sense of solidarity, however, there exists no strongly-knit union among the various gond sub-sections. For all practical purpose, all the sub- sections are different castes: there is no inter-marriage nor inter-commensality, and the members of each sub-section are firmly convinced that for some imaginary reason they are superior to the member of other sub-sections.

Some years ago a union of all Gonds was formed at Nagpur and Jabalpur. This union included, however, merely the gonds living in the Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh), not those of other provinces or of the former Native States. Moreover, the aims of this union were not the social contacts with caste, but the preservation of their ritualistic purity. It started its activity by first breaking all social contacts with castes lower than theirs, with the Baiga, Panka and others, for instance; it reduced the 'bride-price', adapted the dress of the Gond women to that of the high-caste non-tribal women, suppressed the sometimes gaudy and primitive ornaments of Gond women for the more refined jewellery of the non-tribal women, and discouraged the traditional dances and songs. In the villages where non-tribal influence was already very powerful, these new laws were rigorously enforced and at least for some time generally observed. But in the remote jungle-villages conservatism proved too strong; the Gonds refused to submit to these new regulations. The Gonds are of to independent a character to submit meekly to such a strict discipline, and there is no supreme authority to enforce such regulations. The attempt made by this union to persuade the Gond

caste completely to accept Hindu belief and customs failed; only those Gonds submitted who stood under strong Hindu influence, while the other sub-section proved recalcitrant.

We can only speak of some sort of solidarity among the Gond of a certain area, say in a circle of twenty or thirty villages, where people know each other. Person who know each other well enough to eat together without fear of being made outcastes for doing so, belong together, they also inter-marry and form a social unit, the so-called *bhai-biladeri.* But strangers, though they may swear that they belong to the same sub-section, are regarded with suspicion and even hostility. This is probably one of he main reasons why the gonds of one sub-section are so ignorant of the customs and beliefs of another sub-section of their tribe. Each sub-section keeps aloof from the other, motivated by a strong fear of ritual pollution. It is this fear of pollution which makes them so exclusive and parochial, and limits the treatment of persons as human beings with human wants and needs to their own *bhai-biladeri.* The person outside is stranger and a potential enemy.

Broadly there are four sub-sections of the Gond: highest in social rank are the Deo-Gond. They are fully Hindusised, abstain from eating meat of any kind and from drinking liquor. They observe endogamy.

The second section is called surbhansi Raj-Gond (the sun-born ruling Gond). They are supposed to be descendants of Suryavashi, the elder brother of Ravan, the demon-king of Lanka, who in the fight with Lakshman hid behind his mother, the sun-goddess.

The third section calls itself Suryabansi Deogarhia Gond (the sun-born Gond of Deogarh). Deograh was the old capital of a Gond Kingdom near Chhindwara. These two Surybansi sections claim equal status with the non-tribal cultivation classes and in the Hindu caste system assume the rank of Kshatriyas. The Brahmins will take water from them. The Raj-Gonds generally observe the same caste rules as the Rajputs. According to Forsyth, they are in many cases the descendants of alliances between Rajput adventures and Gond women. But recently any wealthy Gond proprietor willing to submit to Rajput caste rules could get his family admitted into the Raj-Gond community.

The fourth and lowest section is that of the Ravan-bansi Gond. In some parts of Mandlia, Deogarhia Gonds still accept Ravan-bansi Gond girls as wives, but do not give their daughters in marriage to Ravan-bansi boys. Nor do they inter-dine with them. The Hinduised Raj-Gond what to make all the world believe that theses Ravan-bansi. Gonds are no true Gonds at all; they are outsiders who have usurped the fair name of Gond. The Raj-Gonds are ashamed of these caste-fellows because they eat beef and pork, and do not observe the Hindu customs.

Years ago, some Raj-Gonds started a reform movement which aimed at the complete absorption of the Gond by Hinduism and at the incorporation of the Gond into Hindu society with the rank of Kshatriyas.

The principles and aims of this movement are well expressed in a pamphlet bearing the title *Gondon dharm bichar ('On gond-lore').* It starts with an exhortation in verse to restore the old customs (dharm)'. The author then explains that Gondwana (mainly Mandla Dist.) was of old habitat of the Gond. There they ruled. The power of the Gond race can be gauged from the mighty ruins of their old forts. In this vein the author proceeds and tries to prove that the Gonds are really Kshatriya by caste. For did not the Gond king Dalpatsha marry a Kshatriya princess, Devi Durgawati, the daughter of the Chandela Kshatriya King of Mahoba. With apparent reluctance, however, the author admits that in the holy scriptures of Hinduism, in the shastras, the Gonds are not mentioned as Kshatriyas. The reason why the Hindus do not recognize the Gonds as Kshatriyas and, on the contrary, rather despise them, is in his opinion the bad behaviour of the Ravanbansi Gond who eat beef, sacrifice pigs and chicken and drink liquor. He is convinced that the Gond could recover their old status as Kshatriyas if they reformed their ways. He then proposes that a stiff line should be imposed on persons who defy Hindu caste rules and eat beef, pork and chicken, and drink liquor.

In another pamphlet of the same stamp, bearing the title of Gond Dharm Purana ('A Summary of the Gond Religion'), published in 1929 by Bhausingh Rajengi of Balaghat district, Bara Deo, the supreme God of the Gond, is identified with Shiva. The

pamphlet gives in the form of a discussion between Shankar and Parvati a short account of Gond history, describes their noble birth and later department, and attributes their downfall to the fact that the Gonds gave up the worship of Rama and adopted ritually impure customs. The author devotes the last pages of his booklet to the proposal of new rules and regulations which the Gonds would adopt with the aim of ritual purification. The author is confident that ritually-pure Gond would certainly be accepted by high-caste Hindus as their equals.

There have been several cases of Brahmins presenting the sacred thread to the Gonds. Those Gonds who have adopted the sacred thread call once a year Brahmin who recites certain stories for their edification and admonishes them to abstain from eating chicken, drinking liquor, yoking cow to the plough or harrow, etc. The Gonds listen attentively, and promise to obey the rules of Hinduism; then the Brahmin is entertained with a meal, given a present, and off he goes. He may also be called to grace with his presence a wedding or a funeral feast.

Hindu influence is particularly strong in the village along the Narbada river. There Brahmin families are found in every big village. They attend to the religious needs of the Gond, each Brahmin being in charge of three or four villages. The Gond in these villages respect the Brahmins as their spiritual leaders (guru). These villages are also frequently visited by Hindu monks (yogis) and pilgrims who perform the parikrama (circumambulation) of the Narbada; walking from the mouth of the river and back on the other side. The journey usually lasts three years. Such pilgrims often stop for a shorter or longer time in the Gond villages of Mandla District and are entertained by the village headmen. In return for food and lodging, they instruct their aboriginal hosts in the tents, myths and legends of Hindu religion. The traditional bards of the Gond, the pradhan, also instruct the aboriginals in the Hindu religion".

The Bhumia

"All that we have said of the Gond caste organization holds good also for the Bhumia. They too consider for all practical purposes their own sub-section as a separate and independent

endogamous caste. Within their own sub-section, must think of the Bhumia as a loose aggregate of several regional groups, each such regional group comprising a number of neighbouring villages, that is, ten to twenty villages communities. Within a convenient area several—say ten to twenty—such village communities are interrelated by marriage, and have moreover a more or less uniform set of cost regulations and conventions; at times these groups meet to settle social disputes of greater importance and wider significance, but not just such as arise from marital relations, breach of caste laws, witchcraft, property disputes, etc. These regional groups need not be mistaken for independent tribal units, as no regional group is set in a water-tight compartment. we may conceive of the Bhumia of eastern Mandla as an endogamous sub-section of the Biaga tribe divided into a number of overlapping circles of regional groups, which are formed by ten to twenty village communities.

While the various sub-sections of the Gond tribe are proud to be long to this great tribe, the Bhumia-though doubtlessly a sub-section of the Baiga tribe and returned as Baiga by the census officials-often resent to be called Baiga and insist on being listed as a separate caste, as Dewar (priests) or Bhumia (men of the soil).

The Bhumia permit intermarriage with the Binjhwar Baiga, another sub-section of the Baiga tribe, tough the latter neither inter-dine nor inter-marry with them. They give as region for this permission that both Bhumia and Binjhwar descend from the same ancestor. But so do the Bharia Baiga, and still the Bhumia refuse to inter-marry with them. The real reason why the Bhumia allow inter-marriage with the Binjhwar is that the latter, in true Hindu fashion, have established their claim of being superior to all other Baiga sub-sections and neither inter-dine nor inter-marry with them, They make no exception with the Bhumia.

As already mentioned, the Bhumia treat the Bharia as their social inferiors. They call them the lower cast (chhoti jat) while they themselves are the superior caste (unchi Jat). The Bhumia say that the Bharia formerly accepted food from their hands though some time ago the Bharia decided not to do so anymore. The Bharia Baiga are treated as inferiors because they eat beef which the Bhumia never do."

The Baigas

Another important tribal community is that of the Baigas. The people of this community are inhabited in the hill areas of Mandla, Rajanadgaon and Bilaspur districts. Some people of this tribe are found in the plains also. Those inhabiting the hill areas are known as 'hill Baigas'. A brief account of the Baigas, as noticed by Dr. Dharmendra Prasad, is given hereunder:

Out of their numerous clans named Bhumia, Mandia, Binjhwar, Birjia, Narotia. Bhaina, Bharotia, etc., the hill-Baigas largely belong to the last sub-caste. The Binjhwars who indulge, generally, in sorcery, healing rituals and quackery are given a high social status. Hill Baigas have their concentration in the border-lands of Mandla, Rajnandgaon and Bilaspur districts. This area is full of rugged hills and exuberant sal-forests.

Being a north Indian community the Baigas, from the very beginning, are known to be using a Hindi dialect, presently recognised as Chhattishgarhi. Anthropologically, also they are said to belong to the Bhuiyar or Bheel stocks of eastern U.P. and western Madhya Pradesh. One of the Baiga clans is called 'Brijia', which means of 'Braj or Vrinjdavana'. It is another evidence of their north Indian origin.

The Baigas are self-respecting and placid. In their way of life there are remains of Vedic style. The existence of 'macha', 'machan' or 'mandap', in each Baiga house is noteworthy. Standing on four poles it has a frontal situation. It is made at a point where an approach from any apartment of the house is convenient. In the centre of 'macha' sometime fire-wood are kept burning and in such a condition the whole structure looks like remnant of a 'Yajnasala'.

House of a well-to-do Baiga ressembles an 'ashrama'. It has an apartment for guests; another for the family dwellings, third is 'gosala' and fourth is the 'macha'; all separately made. A Baiga house is neat and tidy. Another clear evidence of their Vedic association is the common practice of shaving elfin locks of boys. Mundia sub-caste is particularly characterised for the practice of shaving head except one lock, i.e. 'shikha'. A Baiga boy with shaved elfin locks looks like a 'Brahmachari' of Gurukula. Baigas, love for

'gopalan' (cow-protection) and to mother-earth and adoration for Sun and Vishnu and Saja-tree are other supporting facts. It must have taken several centuries of forest life, infested by wild animals, for blending up some of their distinguishing cultural traits and giving up improved agriculture. It is surmised that the Baiga occupied the highlands of Central India at least five centuries prior to the Gond's immigration in that region.

During the British rule the Baigas were found clearing forests and practising 'bewar' or shifting cultivation standing trees were cut and burnt. Soon after the first showers of rains seeds were sown. Thus, after having taken crop thrice, the Baiga shifted to another piece of forest land. Evidently, this was injurious to the forest. Therefore, in 1890, a Baiga-reservation, called Baigachak, consisting of 24,000 acres was created, out of which 'bewar' was prohibited. Within the Baigachak, only 11,000 acres of forest land was allowed for 'bewar'. Baiga families, insisting on 'bewar', had to enter into the Gaigachak or quit the British territory. It is reported that due to this prohibitory order, at least 470 Baiga families migrated to the adjacent forests of Pandaria Zamindari and to the Kawardha State.

Inside Baigachak some cultivating Gond, 'Dhoba' and 'pradhan' families were settled, so that the Baiga could learn from their agriculture. Gradually, everywhere the Baiga resumed agriculture. Although, their older generation still has a fancy for 'bewar', and its sporadic cases are even now reported from inaccessible areas of Pandaria and Kawardha, yet the younger generation has forgotten the 'bewar' altogether. But, all the hill-Baiga, who gave up 'bewar', did not take up improved agriculture simulatenously. Many often started depending more food gathering, hunting and sorcery. When they finally resumed agriculture, only marginal lands were available to them. Prospects of food gathering hunting and sorcery had also become limited. As a result, many Baiga families were reduced to the State of half starvation and indebtedness. Now, they had to accept employment as wage-earners in forest-coupes and elsewhere. Thus, in the region, of which they at a time were indisputed masters, and where they could do bewar-cutting wherever fancy led them, they became landless labourers.

Very often a Baiga feels that this is degrading. On the other hand, Gonds and Dhobas, who were settled among them, had now become their creditor-cum-exploiters. Traders, forest-contractors and petty officials were already exploiting them".

URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND ENVIRONMENT

The urban population of Indian constitutes 23.73% (1981) of the total population. It has grown about 46% over the decade 1971-81. There are 3,245 urban agglomerations listed in the census, but the distribution of the population amongst cities of different sizes are quite uneven.

The number of towns of Madhya Pradesh has increased from 121 (1907) to 327 (1981). The urban population in Madhya Pradesh is 20.31% (1981) of the total population. It has grown by about 24.67% over the decade 1971-81. In terms of sheer size of urban population, Jabalpur District (9.9 lacs) occupies the first rank in the State with Indore District (9.26 lacs) closely behind it. Bhopal, Gwalior, Durg, Raiur, Ujjain Bilaspur and Sagar district occupy the successive lower ranks.

The time is in favour of comparatively bigger towns. Cities and class II towns taken together contain 64.84% of the total population. In the year 1971 this percentage was 55.31. The rate of growth of population in the size class of a whole is the highest in the size class II followed by class IV and class I closely after it. Class VI towns: number has been reduced from 7 (1971) to 3 (1981).

Indore (8,27,071) is the biggest city of Madhya Pradesh. Jabalpur, Bhopal, Gwalior, Durg, Raipur, Ujjain, Sagar, Bilaspur, Ratlam and Burhanpur follow it. Three towns which have added in the category of city are Murwara (Katni), Khandwa and Rewa. Rewa has just crossed the mark of one lakh. It is estimated that the number of cities in the state may be more than 20 by the turn of this century and urban population may reach nearly 30%.

Much of the high rate of growth of urban population in Madhya Pradesh can be attributed to large scale influx from rural hinterland. Since independence several new towns have also come up.

URBAN ENVIRONMENT

The creation of new urban settlements and the extension of the existing ones to accommodate the increasing population have resulted in tremendous pressure on developed urban land; steady deterioration of the already strained urban services and environmental quality; and unsatisfactory condition so hygiene and quality of life. The urban scene especially in cities of Madhya Pradesh is generally a condition of blight and environmental decade characterized by slum settlement, over-crowing, chaotic traffic, haphazard development, derelict neighbourhood, inadequate levels of water supply and sanitation, insufficient facilities and services and poor standard of urban development.

An explosive increase in the exponential form of population-growth and industrialization have jointly caused a havoc in the human adjustment in the urban environment of Madhya Pradesh. This has been reflected in social context and a continuous degradation of environment has been noticed. The city dwellers, especially the middle and lower classes, are increasingly found in wretchedly over-crowded and polluted cities, which have rightly been called "Miserpolis'. In the urban areas of Madhya Pradesh, with a view to analysing the level, spatial pattern and distinction of pollution problems and finally for their eradication, preparation of rational plans for harmonizing the opportunities for better life, without jeopardizing the human values evolved inthe time span, are needed. This will be helpful in maintaining the ecological balançe which turn offers a better quality of life and enhances, rather than burdens, human creativity and hope.

SUGGESTIONS

For betterment of urban environment and human life in Madhya Pradesh a comprehensive environmental programme is essential. It should be implemented by the municipal governments with the cooperation of the people. The main parts of the urban areas, which are highly polluted and congested, require proper cleaning of sewage pipe lines, streets and daily disposal of garbage, so that the hazard caused by these may be avoided.

Municipal governments should not allow construction of more houses and establishments of even small scale industries to control the problems of congestion. Dilapidated houses should not be permitted for living so that these may be demolished and open spaces may be provided to the population living in those localities. The displaced persons should be provided suitable compensation and places for new constructions.

Water supply services are deteriorating in number of urban centres of the State. The position in respect of towns with a population of less than 1 lakh is farless satisfactory. The position is compounded by the incapacity of the local governments to mobilize adequate resources for development.

In the State the highest priority has been given to rural development and reduction of poverty levels. Urban development is closely associated with the problem of rural development. An investment commensurate with the level of employment and production contributed to urban areas would solve the problems of those areas and equip them to serve the rural hinterland better. Urban areas contain a large number of people living in appalling conditions. They require a comprehensive programme with the urban poor as the target group.

LAND USE

The failure of urban management has been both in fields of giving the towns a people-oriented blueprint for development and in delivering equitably and efficiently basic service to the population. It is in this sense that the prescription of proper guidelines for the planning of town and cities of the State becomes important.

There is a need to adopt sensible land-use patterns in cities and big towns of Madhya Pradesh which can bring residences and work places closely together and minimise the need for commuting as also the wastage of poor peoples time in travel.

Pointed attention needs to be given to the large number of urban dwellers below the poverty line by enhancing their employment opportunity and by increasing their access to shelter. Improvement of environment also calls for a large number of

legislative and administrative measures to meet the needs of urban poor.

The State should take the advantage of Centrally Sponsored Scheme for the integrated development of small and medium towns drawn for the provision of water supply and sanitation facilities to all the urban areas of the State. Problem of the slums must be solved on priority basis. Slum improvement and housing the poor constitute significant point-programme.

There must be long-term research schemes to increase the understanding of environmental process and the way they are affected by certain activities in Madhya Pradesh. The harmful effects of human activities must be carefully watched by the experts. Therefore, monitoring of the environmental conditions in the State is essential which has objectives of advancing the understanding of ecosystem and its dynamics to produce required scientific data and information on pressing contemporary problems to help the policy and decision-makers to assess environmental hazards and further to suggest suitable remedial awareness. For the purpose, projects should be taken up by the government of Madhya Pradesh.

ENVIRONMENTAL PLANNING

The credit to start a special Department of Environment goes to Madhya Pradesh. The Department can be called to be the first of its kind in the country.

To cope with the problem of pollution and for giving an impetus to a proper environmental consciousness, necessary steps have been taken by the State. The Town and Country Planning Organization, the Pollution Prevention Board and the Slum Improvement Board have been constituted. Their activities are now spread over the entire State.

The Government of India passed the Water Pollution Control Act in 1974. In the same year, Madhya Pradesh became the first State to establish a Water Pollution Control Board.

On the World Environment Day, (5 June, 1981), Madhya Pradesh achieved something unique in India and, perhaps, in the continent of Asia. It was the laying of the foundation of the

Environmental Planning and Coordination Organization (EPCO) and that of the Institute of Environment Bhopal.

Through these principal agencies the State Government has been endeavouring to educate people in the principles of keeping the ecology and environment stable and viable.

Any disturbance in the ecosystem may lead to ecological imbalances, such as deforestation, excessive grazing, lack of proper land and water management practices, faulty and intensive crop cultivation and environment pollution. The gradual attrition of natural systems results from various types of environmental pollution, including those from domestic sewage, agriculture wastes, industrial air and water pollutants, pesticides, nuclear radiation, noise and toxic chemicals.

In Madhya Pradesh, EPCO is playing a vital role in maintaining ecological balance. It has drafted a State environmenal policy and has submitted it to the Government for adoption.

Studies on the present environmental status of the State have been taken in hand, which will form the basis of formulating an environmental conservation strategy for the State.

SLUM IMPROVEMENT SCHEME

EPCI's Designs' Division has been set up with a view to improving standards of environmental physical planning. A prestigious project taken up by the division is a slum resettlement scheme in Kotra, Sultanabad, Bhopal. In this project a very intensive planning exercise, under the guidance of team of senior visiting consultants, using cluster housing concepts for reducing costs and at the same time improving quality of life, has been successfully completed. This project will serve as a model for housing of the poor in other parts of the State and is being sent as an entry for the HUDCO competition.

A rural division has been attached to the Environmental Biology Department of Awadhesh Pratap Singh University, Rewa. The Commissioner, Rewa division, has been made its Chairman and the Vice-Chancellor of A. P. S. University its Executive Director, thereby establishing close interaction between academics and

implementation. This division will take up intensive studies and specific project for proper development of the rural environment.

EROSION OF TOPSOIL

EPCO's documentation division has already entered into an arrangement with Environment Information Centre, New York, for exchange of information on environment and energy. The Director of the Council of Science and Technology, Madhya Pradesh, is the chairman of this division.

A critical study of the status of environmental legislation in the State has been taken in hand.

The academic wing-centre of Environmental Studies of the Bhopal University—has already enrolled students in Master's degree in environmental sciences who are being imparted instruction sin the existing facilities of the University.

In many areas of the State, topsoil is quite thin. Over-grazing and intensive cultivation have reduced soil fertility and, sometimes, resulted in erosion of topsoil by wind during summer and run-offs by water in the monsoon. This process has been accelerated by unwise use of fertilizers, deep ploughing and felling of trees in fields and forests.

INDUSTRIAL POLLUTION

Water in Madhya Pradesh rivers and streams is mainly from rain-fall run-offs. Without adequate vegetation cover, floods in the rainy season and droughts in the summer would tend to be more severe.

Paper and pulp industries in the State can cause severe problems. If unattended to Mining industries too create problems. It is in the context of such vast and varied problems that EPCO has been aiming to envolve suitable environmental regulatory and monitoring systems.

There are 370 large and small industries in Madhya Pradesh, including two very large paper plants. One is privately owned, and the other is in the public sector. Both of these were persuaded to regularly by the environmentalists, as indeed are the effluents of every industry in the State.

New industries cannot be set up unless the promoters promise to treat whatever is discharged into the water or the air by their factories.

The total Statewise industrial pollution load has been reduced by 60 per cent. Since the establishments of Madhya Pradesh Pradushan Nivaran Mandal in 1974, about 47 industries have set up either partial or full fledged effluents treatment plants.

With the promulgation of the Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1981, complete preparatory action for publication of rules, establishing procedure to set up laboratory, etc. is being taken. A committee has been constituted by the Government to draft Prevention and Control of Noise Pollution Act in the State.

Of the 370 major and medium industries, which applied for consent for discharge of effluents, 244 have been granted consent, while 44 industries have been given no objection certificates. Legal notice has been issued to 35 industries for non-compliance of the Act. Persecution for violation of the Act has been launched against six industries.

ANALYSIS OF SAMPLES

For monitoring effluents and natural waters, the Water Pollution Control Board has established five laboratories at Raipur, Jabalpur, Bhopal, Indore and Gwalior each. These laboratories analysed about 4,910 samples and inspected 153 industries and local bodies during 1981-82.

The Board has also associated itself with global environmental monitoring system (GEMS) of the World Health Organization.

The Water Cess Act was formed for ensuring finances for effective working of the Pollution Control Board. The M.P. Board has collected Rs. 62.94 lakhs by the end of April 1982, Out of this, a sum of Rs. 38.78 lakhs has been sanctioned to the State Government for releasing it to the Board as its share. The State Government has released Rs. 24.44 lakhs to the Board till March, 1982.

WEAKER SECTIONS OF SOCIETY

The Government of Madhya Pradesh has adopted several important legislative measures over the past two years towards social upliftment. Particular attention has been paid in some of these legislations to protect the interests of the weaker sections of society.

Soon after entering upon office, the government brought forward a revolutionary ordinance, which later became an act of legislature, conferring upon landless farm-workers, ownership rights upon the plots of land belonging to others upon which they had constructed upon such landless farm-workers who had built their dwellings a year or more prior to June 23,1980. No rent or fee was charged from them for this conferment.

The law also provided that should such a person be dispossessed, he could make an application, within six months of such dispossession, for the restoration of possession to him. The law provides not only for such restoration but also damages to be paid to the aggrieved person.

As this law sought to benefit the economically weaker sections, application, appeal, revision, etc. were exempted from the payment of court fees and it was granted free. The jurisdiction of the Civil Court was barred from barred from matters for the decision of which forms and procedures had been prescribed in this act.

Another law conferring identical rights upon landless farm-workers, who had built their dwellings upon unoccupied governments land, was also enacted and conferred ownership rights upon such farm-workers who had built their dwellings one year on more prior to June 23, 1980.

LAND REVENUE CODE AMENDED

The State Government made some important amendments in the Madhya Pradesh Land Revenue Code by an enactment which, among other things, sought to project the interests of the tribals. The amendment provided that if any person had come in possession, on or after October 2, 1959, of land belongings to a tribal, who had been declared subsequently to belong to any tribe, the possessor was

bound to inform the Sub-Divisional Officer (Revenue), of the circumstances under which such land came into his possession. Should the possessor fail to furnish such land came into his possession. Should the possessor fail to furnish such information, the land would revert to the original owner or heirs after the expiry of the stipulated period of one year.

It was also provided that should the Sub-Divisional Officer (Revenue), come to the conclusion on the basis of information furnished that the land was fraudulently acquired, he would arrange for its restoration to its original owner or his heirs. The possessor who failed to deliver possession of such land could be arrested and detained for three months under civil imprisonment. The detained could be freed from imprisonment earlier should be relinquished possession in the meanwhile.

The State Government has decided to re-launch the Twenty Point Programme announced by the Prime Minister. A new law was enacted to implement it. Under it, the Revenue Inspector Circle Level Committees were reconstituted and given statutory powers for settlement of encroachments made upon *abadi* lands, for allotment of house-sites to rural people, settlement of encroachments upon, unoccupied government land under the act, for conferring ownership rights upon home-steads built by landless farm-workers and for the allotment of ceiling surplus lands.

Also enacted was a law for the establishment of the State Seed and Farms Cooperation to ensure supply of certified seeds in sufficient quantities to the farmers of the State.

The Government has amended section 165 of the Madhya Pradesh land Revenue Code 1959 (20 of 1959), which provides that right of a Bhumi-swami, other than a Bhumi-swami belonging to a tribe which has been declared to be an aboriginal tribe, shall not be transferred to a person not belonging to aboriginal tribe without prior permission of the Collector. Transfers which were made prior to 9-6-1930 are required by the Collector. The amendment shall have effect in scheduled areas of the State.

A *Krishak Jot Uchchatam Seema Adhiniyam, 1981* was enacted which provides that no holder shall be entitled to hold forest land in excess of 41 hectares.

MEASURES TO END DACOITY

As a part of the drive to end for ever the age-old menace of dacoity, government promulgated an ordinance which seeks to protect those who come to the aid of the police by informing them of the whereabouts and the activities of the dacoits. Under the ordinance such persons will be deemed to be public servants and afforded protection accordingly.

It provides for the setting up special courts to try offences listed in the ordinance. Those charged with such offences are not to be given anticipatory bail and are not to be normally bailed out.

The Ordinance enhances the punishment prescribed for various offences listed under it to 10 years imprisonment and fine and also provides that a minimum term of three years imprisonment would be awarded to those found guilty. Among the offences listed are provendering of dacoits, acting as intermediary in the payment of ransom, spying for dacoits or helping them in any other way and acquiring financial gains from these activities.

The ordinance also provides for punishing those who acquire property beyond their known sources of income in the areas brought under the purview of the ordinance. The District Magistrate can issue show-cause notice to such a person and attach his property and should such a person fail to offer satisfactory explanation, he could be prosecuted in a court of law. The court, besides sentencing such an offender to imprisonment, shall also confiscate the property so acquired.

It will thus be seen that over the past few years the government have enacted several progressive legislative measures to safeguard the interests of the weaker section of society and to end oppression. These are bound to have far-reaching repercussions and their effective implementation would not merely ensure for the weaker sections dignity of life and liberty but bring about fundamental changes in social relationships.

Cities of Madhya Pradesh with a population over one lakh (according to 1981 census)

Si.	*Name of cities*	*Population*
1.	Indore	8,27,071
2.	Jabalpur	7,57,726
3.	Bhopal	6,72,329
4.	Gwalior	5.59,776
5.	Durg-Bhilainagar	4,90,158
6.	Raipur	3,38,973
7.	Ujjain	2,81,787
8.	Sagar	2,07,401
9.	Bilaspur	1,86,885
10.	Ratlam	1,56,490
11.	Burhanpur	1,41,142
12.	Murwara-Kanti	1,25,096
13.	Khandwa	1,14,463
14.	Rewa	1,00,519

RELIGION

Hinduism (Vedic-Puranic Religion)

The chief religion of the people during the past was Hinduism based on the board ethical principles of the Vedic tradition. Gradually the main Smiritis, ranging from the *Manusmriti* to the *Devala Smiriti*, were regarded as the sources of Dharma. The Puranic lore of the late Vedic pantheons was followed by the respective adherents of the Vaisnava, Saiva, Sakta, Saura and other cults. Hinduism of the central India region was a broad based religion having absorbed and accommodated the tenets and injunctions of Buddhism, Jainism and several other faiths as well. This tendency of assimilation had started in the Sunga-Satavahana period culmination into an admirable fusion during the Gupta Age.

The broad Hindu religion of the post-Gupta period has rightly been designated as 'Neo Brahmanism' due to obvious reason. During the ancient and medival periods the centre of relegion shifted from the *yajnas* (sacrifices) to temples. The *devayatanas* (temples) became not only religious centres but also educational and social centres.

BUDDHISM

Cedi and Avanti were the two great kingdoms of the present Madhya Pradesh during the time of Gautama Buddha. Cedi was later known as Jejakabhukti and thereafter Bundelkand. The later name of Avanti was Malawa. The third important region of ancient Madhya Pradesh was South Koslala (later called Mahakosala). Out of these. Avanti, for obvious reasons, made a more rapid progress, both politically and culturally, than the other two regions.

During the time of the Buddha. Avanti had two important towns. The one was Ujjayini in the north and the other was Mahismati in the southern part of Avanti. In the well-known work *Mahaparinibbaba Sutta,* the name of Mahismati only is mentioned as the capital of Avanti.

Acarya Mahakaccana of Avanti was the first to introduce Buddhism in that region. He was the son of the priest of king Canda pradyota of Avanti, a contemporary of the Buddha.

Out of the two chief protestant religions—Buddhism and Jainism the former—in course of time was restricted to parts of eastern Indian and few other regions, such as South Koslala and parts of Orissa. Mahayana and Vajraytana, the two chief Buddhist cults of the early mediaveal period found a good deal of material of common interest in the contemporary Neo Brahmanism. The Tantricism, a Salient trait of Vajrayana, had become a part and parcel of the early medieval Hindu pantheon. To a large number of Buddhist householders, the code of conduct was almost similar to one enjoyed in the Vedic-Samarta religion. Gautama Buddha was given a place among the chief ten incarnations of Visnu-Narayana. The Buddhist pantheon of the period can be called a replica of the Brahmancical religion.

JAINISM

Jainism could get a wider popularity in central Indian than Buddhism. The centres like Devagarh, Chandpur, Thubon, Gwalior, Chanderi, Ahar and several other sites in central India did much work for the propagation of Jainism. Architecture and art at various Jaina centres had a tremendous growth along with those of the Brahmanical faiths.

The Buddhists and Jainas did not raise any protests, worth-mention, against the Hindu social order. On the other hand, they found in the existing set-up, a congenial atmosphere for the development of their own socio-economic and religious institutions. The old Vedic sacrifices had now become a matter of the past. Majority of the Hindu kings are merchants had little distinction between a Hindu, Jaina or Buddhist in so far as their common socio-economic interests and the over all state-welfare were considered.

Some of the Buddhist and Jaina Acharyas of the early medieval period did considerable work for the larger interests of the nation and for the Advancement of goodwill and amity among various sections of the society. The example of Acharyas Dipankara (also called Atisha) is well-known. He did a lot for spread of Buddhism in Tibet. When he was informed about the lurking foreign invasion, he rushed to the Pala king Nayapala and, not minding the perilous route, he went to Tripuri (in Jabalpur district) to seek the help of the Kalacuri ruler Lakshmikarna. The great mission of the Acharyas was to see that the personal differences between the two monarchs were thrown to the winds and a common front was created to give resistance to the foreign invaders.

THE CASTE SYSTEM

As regards the Hindu Caste system, there is no denying the fact that its rigidity proved to be unwholesome for a developing society. On the other hand, there were some obvious advantages in the system. When studied in a dispassionate way, it would be clear that ancient Indian Varna-ashrama system represented a unique socio-economic institution. It gave an impetus to agricultural and industrial production in several ways. It proved to be a boon for the

development, particularly of the rural economic life, which had its obvious impact on the urban life of the times.

The ashrama system represented a clear-cut division of the age-sequence for achievement of the well defined material and spiritual objectives.

The local factors, old traditions and changing attitudes towards life during a period when, with the Muslim advent, an altogether different alien culture had thrust itself on Indian way of life, have to by duly considered when we make an assessment of the socio-cultural life of the northern and central India.

The temples had become the chief centres of Indian social and religious life and thought. It is true the so-called 'temple-landlordism' of the rich priestly class had its own defects, at the same time the contribution of temples as centres for preservation and dissemination of the rich Indian heritage far and wide cannot be underestimated.

OTHER CULTS

Besides the Vedic-Puranic religions, Buddhism and Jainism, there were several cults and faiths prevalent in the region of Madhya Pradesh before the Muslim advent. some of these continued during the late medieval period also.

The tribals and other backward people workshop different manifestations of Nature and their ancestral demi-gods of various forms. The worship of Agni (god of fire) has been widely prevalent in various tribal areas of Madhya Pradesh. Going round fire has been a sacred rite, which the aboringinals performed in the past and do it even now. Depiction of fire-worship can be traced back to some archaic, rock paintings. Similarly, the worship of sun, moon, stars, rivers, ponds, hills, trees, Yakshas and Nagas was popular in the past and is current even to this day.

The Yakshas and Yakshis were worshipped as protecting deities. The Nagas and Nagas were regarded as deities of fertility and fecundity. Women desirous of getting children worshipped the Nagas, both in the serpent and human forms. The inscriptional evidences shows that there were shrines of the Naga deities at places like Mathura, Vidisha and Malhar.

As regards totems and superstitions of different types, we find them spread largely among the tribals and other backward classes of this region.

During the medieval period, with the coming of Islam, there was a marked change in the socio-religious spheres in the country and the region of Madhya Pradesh was no exception. Due to the forced conversions by the ruling Muslims, a large number of the people of this region became Muslims. This was followed by a similar happening during the British rule, when very large number of tribals were converted into Christianity.

THE BHAKTI MOVEMENT

The medieval period witnessed the rise of the Bhakti movement almost through the country. The credit for giving solace and a broad vision of life to the people at large goes to the saints of the time, such as Ramananda, Kabir, Guru Nanak, Vallabhacharaya, Goswami Tulasidasa, Prana Natha, Guru Ghasidasa and host of others.

In the Chhattisgarh region the followers of the sect of Ramananda established their centres, the significant one being the *Dudhadhari matha* at Raipur. Another centre was created at Sabarinarayan.

The first important centre of Kabir-pantha was started at Kawardha. It was called *Kabir-Dhama*. Other centres of this sect are at Dawankhera (near Bhatpara) and Kharsia (near Raigarh).

Other preceptors, who have their followers in this region are Raidas and Dadu. The message of Guru nanak commands a great respect not only among the Sikhs, but also among a very large number of Hindus and Jainas.

The influence of Goswami Tulasidasa on the minds of the people of India has been deep and abiding. Goswamiji popularized the ideal life of Rama among the messes. From his time onwards worship of Rama and Hanumana gained much momentum. Their temples can be seen almost in all parts of Madhya Pradesh, as in other areas of the country.

THE SATNAMI SECT

Like several other saints Guru Ghasidasa propagated his message of humanism based on equality, truth and toleration. He was born in the Raipur district in 1785 A. D. He did immense work or the upliftment of the down-trodden. With his efforts the human sacrifice was stopped in the well known Danteshwari temple of Dantewada.

THE PRANAMI OR DHAMI SECT

This religious sect has its chief centre at Panna in Madhya Pradesh. Its followers are spread in the Panna and other districts of the State, particularly in Bundelkhand. In Gujarat the number of its followers is quite large. The Pranmi centres at Panna, Jamanagar and other places are well maintained and are actively engaged in disseminating the preachings of the great medieval saint Prana Natha. In Maharashtra, Sindh and Nepal also the sect has its followers.

Sir Deva Chandra was the founder of this sect. He is said to have attained enlightenment at Jamnager in Kathiawar. His son Prana Natha was born there. He attained a high status as saint and preached the message of love and goodwill to the people of various regions in their own dialects. His chief work is the 'Taratamya Sagara', also known as 'Kulzam', which contains 14 books. The philosophical ideas are expressed in Hindi, Gujarati, Sindhi and Urdu. Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian words are freely used in the work.

The sect represents a branch of Hinduism. It envisages a broad-based way of life. The founder Deva Chandra is said to have been inspired by Lord Krishna. The Gita, the Bhagavata Purana and other scriptures are regarded as sacred in the sect. In the chief shrine at Panna and other shrines of the sect, the flute and crown of Sri Krishna and Radha are worshipped. Scenes from Krishna's life are tastefully portrayed in the walls of the temples.

The followers of the sect believe in the Supreme Deity (aksaratita), who is regarded as superior to the Hindu Trinity. (Brahma, Visnu and Siva). It is the chief source of all the objects of the creation. The Supreme Deity, according to their belief, is not in

any way influenced by *maya* (delusion). As in the Gita, so also in this sect *Karma* (action) has been eulogized along with *dhyana* (mediation).

The influence of the earlier *Nirguna* saints like Kabir and Nanak is clearly discernible in the Pranami sect. It discourages idolatry and puts more emphasis on ethics and the human values.

Santa Prana Natha was a great social reformer. His preachings were wide-spread, as he toured various parts of the country and is said to have gone as far as Basra and Baghadad. Chhtrasala, the illustrious ruler of Bundelkhand and several other chiefs were greatly influenced by the teachings of the saint.

A few selected teachings of Prana Natha are given below to indicate his great message of tolerance:

I

"Whatever is in the Quran, so is taught by the Vedas. There is difference between the two. One Supreme God is the Lord of all. Do not be confused by believing them to be two (different). Hindus and Turks adhered to two religions and they founded two sects. There is a sort of tug of war in the world. No one emphasises the Unity. By a comparative study of the vedas and Quran. I would establish their inherent Unity. Thus I seek to remove antagonism and point out the Common Path."

II

"What is said to the Quran, the same has been asserted in the Vedas. Both (Hindus and Muslims) are the servants of the same master. But the difference of language, names and customs have created knotty problems. I will undo them by explaining the name and attributes (of God) in a way that all may understand (the Truth)."

III

"They all gave a different name and adopted varied rituals. All consist of the 'Soul' and the 'Universe'. Khuda and Brahama is the same."

IV

Unity in diversity is well emphasised and the vices, which have crept in both the religions are denounced in unmistakable terms. Criticising the teaching of the Ulemas and their interpretation of the Quran, Prana Natha says:

"They call themselves learned and are puffed up with pride. They preach against the spirit of Islam and its religious texts and call themselves well versed in Quran."

The following lines breathe unqualified condemnation of the religious intolerance of the Muslims:

V

"They force the Hindus to abandon their dress and customs. The latter bewail but the former consider it to be a pious act.

VI

"Muslims oppress the poor and the stricken. None redresses the wrongs done to them. Having affected circumcision they force them to eat meat and declare it to be a holy deed."

And in the following lines Swami Prana Natha preached the essence of all religions:

VII

"But the pious one are those who regard all the big and the small with the same (loving) concern and believe that God is the Lord of them all. He who persecutes others is not a Musalman. The Prophet named Musalman to the one who bestows kindness.

FINE ARTS

Religious Background of Art

Ancient Indian art occupies a prominent place in the history of world art. The rich and varied art-forms which developed in this country during a long span of time are remarkable from the points of view of antiquity, and quantity.

The first efflorescence of plastic art can be seen in the Indus Valley culture during the 3rd and 2nd millennia B. C. This culture, with its chief centres at Harappa and Mohenjodaro was wide-spread. Its remains have been discovered from Punjab in the north to the southern parts of Gujarat and from Sind to Meerut-Saharanpur districts of U.P. in the east.

The Indus Valley art was essentially secular in character. The religious ingredients, in some form, however, began to appear in that art. The Vedic-culture, borrowed, and later assimilated, several elements of the Indus Valley culture, particularly from its art. The Vedic symbolism, which became the source-material for various art-forms in India during the proto-historic and historic periods was, to some extent, inspired by the symbology found in the Indus Valley art.

The Vedic pantheon, in course of time, rise to several religious forms, the chief being Vaisnavism, Saivism, and Saktism. The centres of these religions were Visnu, Siva and Sakti (Goddess) respectively. Other Vedic-Puranic deities, which gave rise to religious cults, were Surya, Ganpati, Karttikeya and a few others. From the 6th century B. C. two heterodox systems, Buddhism and Jainism, grew up and developed into two major Indian religions. The Vedic and non-Vedic religions played their roles in moulding considerably the life and thought of the country. One of the chief media utilized for the religious propagation was that of fine arts. These included sculpture, architecture, painting and the performing areas (music, dance and drama).

In ancient indian religion had a great impact on various facts of life. The world *Dharma,* in its broad sense, implied the ideas of morality and righteousness. In the ritualistic sense it enjoined the norms and details of worshipping the deities in shrines. In a wide-spread country like Indian, having different geographical features and climates, the idea of free thinking and free expression was remarkable indeed. Nonetheless, there was a strong idea of emotional integration throughout the country. This was possible due to the concept of one country and one broad, assimilative culture among the inhabitants of this great land. The varnashrama system was a well-thought out long-range plan towards as the socio-

economic development of all the grades of the society and aimed at the cultural integration of the country.

The different ritualistic ceremonies of various religions did not give rise to any unwholesome tendency among the followers of those religions to quarrel against each other. There are strong evidences to show that the followers of the Vedic-Puranic pantheond, the Buddhists, the Jainas and others lived peacefully side by side in the towns and villages. The examples of ancient towns of Mathura, vidisha Pataliputra, Vaisali, Malhar, Badami, Banavasi and Kanchi can be cited in this respect.

in ancient India the Modern idea of 'art for art's sake' had not taken any roots. Art had a wider connotation. It was deeply associated with religion in its true sense and was regarded as an integral parts of culture. It served as a fine medium to beautify and ennoble the life and ideas of the people. It not only portrayed the correct picture of the religious, social, economic, and educational concepts of different periods, but also provided ideals for improvement of those norms and their application in the practical life. The great Indian poet Kalidasa has rightly mentioned the ideal of art and the place of righteousness (sila) in it. The following verse of the Kumarasamb have can be quoted here:

यदुच्यते पार्वति, पापवऽत्तये न रूपमित्यव्यभिचारि तद्वचः ।
तथा हि ते ऽशिलमुदारलोचनेए तपस्विनामप्युपदेछातां गतम् ।।

Here the poet clearly hints at the traditional Indian adage that art is not for the sake of producing the evil, but it should create high concept of beauty and virtue. The qualities of virtue and grace went side by side with beauty and charm in the ideals of Indian art.

Several ancient Indian writers have emphasised the *rasadristi* (emotinal attitude) in art. Bhoja, the writer of *Samaragana-sutradhara*, has dwelt upon this important aspect in art. In chapter 82 of his work the author mention II Rasas and 18 *rasadrstis*. Rasa or emotion, according to Bhoja, is the very essence of a piece of art. He puts special significance on the principal of rasa in art. Credit must be given to Bhuja for this noble idea in regard to the appreciation of real art Bhoja echoes the views of his predecessors-Kalidasa, Banabhatta, Bhavabhuti and others in a who considered

rasa as the very soul of an object animate. The Gupta emperors were particularly imbued with this idea. The art-relics of their time furnish an eloquent testimony to this supremacy of rasa over other elements.

It is generally believed that Indian art owes its development to religion. It is no doubt true that the Vedic-Puranic religions, Buddhism and Jainism contributed considerably to the religous architecture, sculpture, painting and the performing arts. At the same time, it should be realised that the literary and the visual creations in fine arts by Indian talented writers and artists were responsible for creating a congenial atmosphere to appreciate beauty and grace. It was, therefore, but befitting to give high respect to our poets, dramatists, architects, sculptors, painter and others artists.

Not only the ruling houses, but also the business communities and various socio-religious institutions vied with each other in patronising the the growth of literature and other fin arts in various ways. The contribution of the masses at large was also not negligile in this respect.

The inscriptional and literary evidence throws light on the different categories of donors who patronised the religious and secular art. We come across the names of a large number of rulers, queens, bankers, traders, their wives, religious pontiffs and the ordinary people. A Brahmi inscription dated Saka year 54 (132 A.D) on the pedestal of an image of Sarasavati (goddess of learning) mentions that the image was donated by an ironsmith named Gopa and was installed not in a temple, but in a dance-hall (ranga-nartana). Other early inscriptions from Bharhut, Sanchi, Mathura, Bodhgaya Nasik, Junnar, etc. mention such donations made by monks, kayasthas, bankers, businessmen, jewellers, perfume-dealers, wine-distillers, barbers, washermen, dancers, wheat-grinders, etc. The foreigners did not lag behind in making donations to religious institutions and for the furtherance of fine arts. On a number of stupas, temples, monasteries and sculptural relics we come across the depiction of foreigners as donors or as worshippers. This is also confirmed by inscriptions found at Besnagar, Mathura, Nasik, Sarnath and several other places. From one of the inscriptions at Nasik, we learn that the Saka ruler Usavadata made donations of 16 villages to gods and Brahmanas.

Some inscriptions contain interesting *dhyanas* to various deities. These *dhyanas* are helpful in determining the iconographic forms of gods and goddesses and their correct designations. For example, Siva is mentioned in the inscriptions. For example, Siva is mentioned in the inscriptions as Pasupati, Mahesvara, Lakulisa, Umapati, Kalyanacsundara or Ardhanarisavara. Similarly, Visnu is contemplated as Vasudeva, Janardana, Narayana, Murari, Sripati, etc. The two words 'Bodhisattva' and 'Buddha is also designated as Sakyamuni, Pitamaha and samyak-sambuddha on some early records.

These and other such terms help us in identifying the images and in knowing the exact iconographic forms of the deities. The synthetic trends in Indian religions are also known from the syncratic ancient image discovered in large numbers throughout the country. The cult images also indicate the fusion of the two important elements in Indian religion and art, viz. yoga (meditation) and *bhoga* (pleasure).

Wood and clay were the two cheap media of early Indian art. Gradually bone, ivory, stone and metal were utilized for preparing status. Wood, clay, bricks, stones and metals were used for stone work to distinguish it from the work in the other media.

As art was an attractive and impressive medium for the development of religion, it was utilized by various faiths. On this account, good artists were in great demand in different parts of the country. The artists were required to be conversant not only with aesthetics but also with the socio-religious norms of their times. Some of the Buddhist and Jaina monks were expert artists and carved out excellent figures both in the plastic and pictorial art. They were also past masters in architectural details. Some of the figures at art-centres like Mathura, Sarnath, Ajanta and Bagh were prepared by monk artists. Mention may be made of the monk Yasadinna who prepared two stone images of the Buddha at Mathura during the reign of Kumaragupta-I. These two images represent excellent workmanship of the Gupta period. Good artists *(silpis* or *sailopakaras)* were sometimes sent to far-off places to carve out good images of deities at those places.

Apart from the images of the chief and the subsidiary deities and of the semi-divine and decorative figures, ancient Indian art had

another important element in it. viz. the symbolic representation. The significance of the art-symbols cannot be minimised. Several symbols are known in some archaic rock-painting, e. g. the symbols of the sun, the moon, the stars and the fire. Theses and a few other symbols also occur on coins, seals and sealings. At the initial stage these symbols are shown in the natural forms of the sun, moon, fire, etc. Later on they assume human forms. We may take the example of Surya. On the coins of the Pancala kings Suryamitra and Bhanumitra, we get the representation of Surya, both in the natural and in the human forms. Besides Surya, several other Vedic-Puranic deities are represented on the coins of the Pancala rulers and also on the coins of the Satavahans, the Kshaharata-Kshatrapes, the Kushanas, the Yaudheyas, the Kunindas, the Guptas, etc. Besides the religious and secular human and geometrical symbols, the figures of animals and birds occur on coins, seals and sealings.

The evolution of the figure of bird *garuda* in art can be taken up as an example. We notice the early deposition of this bird on the coins of the Gupta ruler Ramagupta (last quarter of the fourth century A. D.) By now we have identified more than two thousand coins of Ramagupta and have noticed various forms of this bird on them. Garuda is usually shown as a bird, sometimes with outstretched wings. He has also been depicted on several coins in the human form, having one or three heads (as in the case of Siva or Kartikeya). If those found on the coins of Chandragupta-II or Kumaragupta-I of the same dynasty, we find a very close similarity. The carving of garuda in the Sesasayi cave at Udaigiri (dist. Vidisha, M. P.) is of a similar type. On the same lines we can trace the evolution in the figures of Laksmi and some other deities. The depiction of these deities, mentioned above, is found in the coins and seals and also in stone, metal and other media.

On the coins of the Indo-Greeks, the Scytho-Parthians, the Kushavas and the Indo-Sassanids a number of Indian deities are carved.

Early Phase of Art

The beginnings of the plastic art in central India can be traced to the Mauryan Period. Asoka constructed stupas at several places in

the country, including the region of central India. The carving of colossal Yaksa images started in the Maurya and early Sunga age. Early Yakasa statues are known from Parkham, Noh and Baroda in the Mathura region. The newly discovered images of a Yaksa and Yaksi from the bed of river Betwa near Vidisha are unique in this respect. The artists of central Indian were past masters in winning over rigidity by a fine sense of grace and suppleness. These traits were carried on by their successors in the Gupta and early medieval period also.

The Sunga-Satavahana Age brought a congenial political and cultural atmosphere in central Indian for the development of fine arts. The two Buddhist centres at Bharhut and Sanchi are well-known in Indian art-history. The great stupas at Bharhut and Sanchi were decorated tastefully during this age with sculptures of a high aesthetic merit. From the point of view of chronology the Bharhut Vedika is earlier than stupta no. II of Sanchi. The latter was followed by stupas no. I and III at Sanchi.

The chance-find of the Bharhut stupa in 1873 by Cunningham marked an epoch-making discovery in the history of Indian art. The relics of this stupa consisted of 49 upright pillars, numerous crossbars and coping stones of the outer railing. These and various other parts, all richly carved, were removed to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Cunningham gave an enchanting and graphic account of the Bharhut stupa.

After Cunningham several scholars—Hultzsch, Hoernle, Luders, Coomaraswamy, Barua and other—have written on the art, architecture and inscription of Bharhut. There valuable contributions have shed a flood light on the early Buddhist art and the socio-religious life of the Sunga-Satavahansa Age.

The bulk of the material from Bharhut, collected by Cunningham during the last century, is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It has been exhaustively dealt with in various monographs. Subsequently as many as 54 more pieces were collected by Sri Braj Mohan Vyas from Bharhut and its neighbouring villages and were deposited in the Municipal Museum, Allahabad. A few additional stray pieces found their way to other museums and private collections.

The Bharhut collection in the Allahabad Museum includes fragment of 32 railing pillars, 14 coping stones and 3 cross-bars. The unique pieces in this new lot represent an acrobatic scene, the Gajasasa Jataka and the scene of the Mucalinda Naga on the inscribed pillar. Some of the decorative patterns in these sculptures are also noteworthy. The tatoo marks on the face of a female figure indicate the moon, lotus and creeper designs. The *purnaghata* and the *hamsamithuna* motifs are beautifully carved on the railing pillars. The Yaksa and the creeper motifs are commonly seen on several stone pieces.

The archaeological collection of the Ramban Museum near Satna contains about the dozen pieces from Bharhut. These include cross-bars, broken coping stones, railing pillars and other slabs depicting various episodes, decorative motifs and animals figures. A few small stone pieces bear fragmentary inscriptions in the Brahmi script of the Sunga period. One of the cross-bars shows a beautiful female bust inside a lotus medallion. The head dress of the lady is tastefully decorated and is bedecked with an ornament on the fore-head (*lalatika),* triple ear-rings and heavy torques and necklaces. In the right hand she holds a stalked lotus (*lalakamala).* The figure is similar to the one already known from Bharhut.

Apart from the depiction of the Jataka stories and interesting scenes from the life of the Buddha on reliefed panels, bearing suitable Brahmi labels, the art of Bharhut opens before us an entire panorama of human and animal life. Scenes from every-day life are sumptuously carved on the railings and *toranas* of Bharhut. *Devatas,* like Sirima, Culakoka, and Sri Lakshmi; the Yaksis: Nagas and Nagis; along with men and women from different walks of life, are faithfully portrayed. Nature, in all its animate and inanimate environmental richness, plays no in-significant role in the art of Bharhut. The Buddha is represented there not in human form, but through symbols, viz. stupa, *dharmachakra* (wheel), Bodhi tree, foot-prints and *triratna.*

In so far as the aesthetic norms are concerned. Bharhut primarily represents the central Indian indigenous elements. The round human faces, wearing elaborate head-dresses, the flat bodily forms, the absence of proper perspective and the archaistic

decorative tendencies are the main features of this art. The compositions usually lack symmetry. There is a tendency towards overcrowding. The Bharhut art, primarily meant for the masses, is more inclined towards the folk elements than the refined aesthetic sense. The linear treatment of human figures, with a rough depiction of the costumes, is, however, compensated by the graphic details of interesting scenes and the decorative patterns.

Stupa II of Sanchi comes slightly after Bharhut and may be assigned to about 150. B. C. The plastic art there follows the main tradition of Bharhut. The linear anatomical stress in the human form and the archaic devices pertaining to composition are clearly discernible there. It is also interesting to note that the Greco-Scythian elements make their first appearance in central Indian art during this time.

The next important stage in the art-history of central Indian is represented by Stupas I and III of Sanchi. From the point if view of architecture and more so, from the consideration of the evolution of plastic art, the main stupa (no. I) of Sanchi marks a significant stage. The general religious theme of the Sanchi sculpture is very similar to that of Bharhut. Here also the Buddha is not made to appear in the anthropomorphic forms. He, and the previous Buddhas, are represented by means of various symbols. The folk aspect of the Buddhist pantheon is much more elaborate at Sanchi. The life depicted through a large number of scenes at Sanchi is richer and more colourful than what we know of it at Bharhut.

The mature art of Sanchi is marked by an advanced sense of refinement. The modeling of the human form is imbued with vitality and suppleness and replaces the prosaic dullness of the earlier art. The figures of heavenly nymphs carved on the gateways of Sanchi are remarkable for there sensitive forms and attrsactive postures. The flat and heavy features were now given a go bye. The anantomical details are now symmetrical and the figures are full and shapely. The artists of Sanchi brought sensuous elements also in the modeling of female figures of Sanchi add to the beauty of the fair sex and are not intended to conceal it. The composition is surcharged with finer ideas of plasticity and perspective. The traits of Bharhut and Sanchi art are, in a restricted sense, discernible in the Sunga art of Mathura and Bodhgaya, the two other early great art-centres of the North.

The first three centuries of the Christian era in Madhya Pradesh witnessed almost a continuous political strife between the Satavahanas, followed by the Nagas, on one hand and the Ksharata-Ksatrapas on the other. This naturally had its adverse effect on the cultural growth and the field of plastic art was no exception. Very few centres in our region are known during the period which have produced really first or even second rate art. Mention may, however, be made of Vidisha, Sanchi, Eran, Tumain and Pawaya (Padmavati). These sites were for a considerably long period, under the rule of the Nagas, who had their main branches at vidisha, Padmavati and mathura. Several Buddhisat images and those of Yaksas and Yaksis, Naga and Nagis are known from the sites mentioned above.

During the Kushana rule Mathura had grown into a great art-centre *par excellence*. It used to supply Buddha and Bodhisattva images even to far of places to meet their religious requirements. A few Mathura sculptures discovered at Sanchi, one of them being an inscribed Buddha image of the time of Kushana prince Vasiska, can be cited in the is connection, The images of Balarma and Visnu, discovered at Tumain and Pawaya respectively, and one Naga image from Eran, bear clear influence of the Mathura Kushana art. During the period under review there were growing contacts between Mathura and the Naga centres of central Indian mentioned above. Not only the iconic forms but also the composition of the sculptures of Madhya Pradesh during the first three centuries, and even afterwards, derived considerably from the Mathura School of Art.

During the Sunga-Satavahana age and in the succeeding period of the Saka-Kusana supremacy, Madhya Pradesh had close contacts with Deccan and western India also. The satavahanas and the Ksatrapas gave impetus to the cave-art in this part of the country. Under their patronage this art in this part of the country. Under their patronage this art flourished from the beginning of the 2nd century B. C. and continued later. The affinities in the art of Bharhut, Sanchi, Vidisha and Pawaya on the one hand and of Pitalkora, Bhaja, Kacheri, Pawni, etc. on the other clearly point out the inter-relations between the art-styles of the two regions.

THE GUPTA ART

The Gupta age marks a glorious chapter in the India's cultural history. The political and economic stability of the period provided a sound basis for the development of literature and art during the reign of the mighty Gupta emperors. In so far as the evolution of plastic art is concerned, traditions had already been built up in the central and northern India. Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodhgaya, Mathura and Gandhiara were the chief centres where sculptural art in variegated forms had developed in the pre-Gupta age. Gujarat, Maharashtra, Kalinga and the Vengi region had also made their own contributions to architecture, sculpture and painting.

The exuberance of fine arts in the Gupta period was not a sudden occurrence. It has a rich tradition behind, from which the artists of the Gupta period drew inspiration. The aesthetic and iconographic elements of the previous regions played their significant role in the Gupta age and they were given adequate place in the art of the period. This is clearly discernible in art of Mathura, Ahicchattra, Kausambi, Deograh, Sarnath, Nachana, Bhumra, Ajanta, Suratgarh, Bagh, Deonimori, Shamlaji and several other art centres of the country.

Vidisha region in central Indian occupies a place of price as a cultural centre. Like Mathura it became a centre par excellence of the integrated Indian culture. There the Vedic-Puranic religion, Buddhism and Jainism found a congenial atmosphere for their simultaneous growth for quite a long period. The Brahmanical faith developed at vidisha in its various forms. Out of these forms Vaisnavism carved out its enviable place from the time of Candragupta Vikramadity (380-13 A. D.). The sculptural art of the Udaigiri caves near vidisha and at several other sites near about represents the growth and popularity of the Vaisnava pantheon in central India. Buddhism and Jainism also received due encouragement in that region. The recent discovery of three inscribed Tirthankara imaged carved out during the time of *maharajadhiraja Ramagupta* is worth mention in this connection. The religious harmony during the Gupta period is also attested and several other parts of India.

During the Gupta age iconographic norms of several deities were established and there was good deal of development on the iconic side. It may be pointed out that in this period, aesthetic excellence had the upper hand over the iconic details. Secular subjects were also largely touched upon by the artist, to whom art was an ennobling medium to realise the beauty of this mundane life and the spiritual happiness of the other world. Religion, the Gupta sculptors and painters, was a thing of joy in life and beyond. To this end the artists worked, and they created some of the most remarkable pieces of art. The concept of a fusion between beauty and grace reached a high watermark during this age of national integration.

The Gupta monuments of central Indian eloquently represent the ideals so fine art (*lalita kala)* as mentioned by Kalidasa, the national poet of the period. *Rupa* or beauty was now given new dimensions of perfection by the creative artists of the time. The ideal of beauty was the one which enlightens the mind and soul. It was not meant for stimulating the lower senses towards evil. Kalidasa rightly hints at the adage regarding beauty recognised in Indian tradition, when he says:

> *Yaducyat Parvati papavrittaye na rupamityavyabhicari tadvacah (Kumarasambhava, V, 36)*

Rasadristi (correct conception and appreciation of sentiment or emotion) was another significant feature of the Gupta art. The supremacy of higher sentiments was now recognised in the art-objects, whether they be animate or inanimate. Another interesting innovation in the Gupta art was that of decorative motifs from the flora and fauna of th land which endowed the art with a remarkable charm and variety.

The bountiful nature of central India greatly inspired the artists, who successfully portrayed in their objects the beauty of nature in its multifarious forms. When we compare the contemporary art of some other parts of the country with that of central India, we notice the significant part played by Nature in the late region, not so conspicuous in other regions of the country.

The treatment of human life in the Gupta art of central India is also noteworthy. The choice of themes, the compositions, the

suppleness of human form and the expression of different sentiments are remarkable indeed. the art relics discovered at Mandsaur, Pawaya, Deogarh, Tumain, Bhumra, vidisha, Eran, Nachna and Tigwa amply prove this fact. The indigenous elements of the Chambai and Betwa Valleys endowed the plastic art with a sense of elasticity and grace which has its distinct exquisiteness in the entire range of Indian classical art.

A striking feature of the Gupta art is noticed in the life-size images of the Buddha, Visnu, Siva, Surya and a few other major deities. The idea of *cakravartin* had grown during the Gupta age. This is borne out by the contemporary literary, epigraphical and numismatic evidence. The emperors of the period assumed grandiloquent titles to emphasize unlimited powers at their command. The idea of indicating all-pervasiveness found its expression in the images of important deities of this age. This feature was elaborated during the post-Gupta period.

A question may here be asked about the beginning of the Classical Gupta art and its primary location. Opinion may differ in regard to this point. Some scholars think that the classical phase arose in northern Indian with the reign of Chandragupta-I, the first notable ruler of the Gupta dynasty. Others are inclined to believe that this phase came into being in the time of Kumaragupta-I. Taking into account the available evidence of plastic art, incriptions and the relevant literature, the beginning of this art may be associated with the region on of Chandragupta-II Vikramaditya. The inscribed statues datable to the last quarter of the fourth century A. D. known from Vidisha and Eran, along with similar inscribed from central northern India, may be helpful in arriving at such a probability. It may however, be pointed out that the Kushana stylistic traits continued almost till he end of the fourth century A. D. A. reference in this connection may be made to the numismatic devices used by the Kushanas which continued on the coins of the Gupta emperor for a fairly long period.

A study of the Gupta art-motifs here would be found interesting. The Ganga-Yamuna motif may be taken up for instance. The region of *antarvedi*, watered by the two holy rivers, came to be regarded as a scared land during the Gupta age. The two rivers were

now given full status of deities representing purity and beauty. They were carved on the door-jambs of the Gupta temples, holding *Purnaghatas* in their hands and standing on their *vahnas*. This symbology continued almost throughout the country in the mediaeval period.

The Gupta art of the northern and central India had its Vardhanas, the Gurjara-Pratiharas, the Somavamsis and the Palas, the artistic devices were largely followed. This is noticed at several sites such as Suratgarh, Mandor, Idar, Samlaji, Kanauj, Kausambi, Gwalior, Tumain, Barwasagar, Marhkera, Sirpur, Rajim, Nalanda, Gaya and Kurkihar. In the Deccan and the South, the art which developed under the rule of the Vakatakas, the Chalukyas and the Pallavas bear similar traits. The centre at Sarnath played the role of a pivot of plastic art from the Gupta period onwards. The Pala art of eastern India, which made its considerable impact in Nepal and Indo-China, derived its inscription mostly form Sarnath.

The sculptural of the early mediaeval period, known from several parts of India, tends to indicate that the Vaisnava and Saiva cults had an upper hand over other Brahmanical cults. Among the various incarnations of Visnu, the Varaha incarnation became quite popular, particularly in its composite human-animal (pasu-varaha) form. The Nrisimha incarnation aiso deserves special mention. The Gupta images of Nrisimha in the composite form (human and lion) are known from Udaigiri, Pawaya, Eran and Tigwa. At Eran three shrines, one each of Visnu, Varaha and Nrisima, were constructed during the Gupta period. In the early mediaeval period the popularity of these two incarnations continued. In the central and western Indian Buddhism and Jainism had also a simultaneous growth. Buddhism flourished in eastern India under the patronage of the Palas.

The aesthetic norms of the Gupta age are discernible in various regional arts up to 800 A. D. After this, these norms were overcome by the conventional iconographic forms and profuse ornamentation. This is borne out by the regional arts developed during the time of the mediaeval dynasties, e.g. the Chandellas, the Kalacuries, the Paramatas, the Senas, the Rastrakutas, the colas and the Hoyasalas.

POST-GUPTA ART

The art-history of Madhya Pradesh region during the post-Gupta period up to about 900 A. D. is marked by a voluminous growth, both from the artistic and iconographic points of view. After the Vakataka-Gupta rule, this region was ruled over by a number of dynasties. Prominent among these were the Gurjara-Pratiharas, the Panduvamisis, the Chandellas, the Kalacuris, the Paramaras and the Kacchapaghatas. During the rule of the Gurjara-Pratiharas and the Pandu rulers, the Gupta artistic traits were continued. This may be noticed in the art-relics at Gwalior, Tumain, Barwasagar, Marhkera, Sirpur, Rajim and a few other sites.

One of the chief traits of the Gupta art was the proper conception of sentiments. The art-objects were supposed to represent the desired sentiments adequately. Another interesting feature was the depiction of environment in art to make it vibrate with life and charm. The post-Gupta artists emulated these features and incorporated them in their objects.

During the period between C. 500 and 900 A. D. brisk advancement was made in the iconographic art of northern Malwa, the Vindhya region and also in several parts of south Kosala, Dasapra (Mandsaur) and the region around, comprising the adjoining parts of south-eastern Rajasthan, deserve special mention this connection. Similarly sites like Tumain, Suhania, Padhavali, Indrapur, Kadwaha, Terhi, Gyaraspur, Badoh and Pathari in the Gwalior-Vidisha region and Khajuraho, Nand Chand, Tripuri and Gurgi in the Vindhya region witnessed an unusual-upsurge of sculptural art. In the south Kosala region, mention may be made of Malhar, Sirpur and Rajim as the main sites of the period.

For the inconographic study of the Puranic *Pancadevas* the numerous remains of plastic art discovered at the above mentioned sites in Madhya Pradesh furnish a rich variegated material. It is interesting to note that many of the iconic details of the *Pancadevas* and their associates, as found in the relevant texts, are met with in the sculptures from the above areas. A few intricate *dhyanas* of some of the deities can also be noticed in several sculptures. The previous belief of some scholars that the multiplicity of hands in the

Brahmanical deities began after the Gupta age, may be given up in view of the discovery of several multi-handed Gupta images.

The art material of the period under known from various parts of Madhya Pradesh tends to indicate that Vaisnava and Saiva cults had an upper hand over other Brahmanical cults. Among the various incarnations of Visnu, Varaha incarnation became quite popular in central India, particularly in the composite human-animal form. The Nrisimha incarnation in the same form also deserves special mention. The Gupta images of Nrisimha in the composite form are known from Udaigiri, Eran and Tigwa. At Eran three shrines, one each of Visnu. varaha and Nrisimha have been discovered. Between the period C. 500 and 900 A. D. the popularity of these two incarnations over other incarnations continued in several parts of Madhya Pradesh.

The Sakta cults had a remarkable growth in the M. P. region during the period under study. A number of centres were established having elaborate Yogini temples and Golaki *mathas*. Centres, of the Sakta cult are preserved at Khajuraho, Bheraghat, Gurgi, Chandresh, Shahdol and a few other sites. The inscribed Yogini images from these sites are of great iconographic value. It may be mentioned here that some of the names of goddesses, as known from the inscriptions, are not found in the extant texts of inconograpy. The study of these inscribed images bristles with some problems, which await solution.

The sculptural art of Madhya Pradesh furnishes interesting material for the study of the iconography of the *Vyantara devatas*. Numerous figures of the Nagas and Naginis, the Yaksas and Yaksinis, of the river goddesses and other *Vyantara devatas* have been found in this part of the country. Some of them bear interesting iconographic traits along with regional peculiarities.

In regard to the syncretistic icons,it may be observed that in so far as the period between C. 500 and 900 A. d. is concerned, the number and scope of such images is limited. In the subsequent period there was a distinct growth in such icons due to obvious factors of religious assimilation and the increase in Tantric beliefs.

From Tripuri in the Jabalpur district some interesting Buddhist image are known. Sometime back at the Garighat of Narmada in

Jabalpur town, two Gandhara images of blue scist, one representing the Buddha in *abhaya* and the other Bodhisattva, were discovered. They apparently were brought to that place from Ganadhara region.

Indragarh and Highlajgarh (both in the Mandsaur district) have yielded some interesting stone images. At Indragarh has been discovered an artistic image of Padmapani Avalokitesvara assignable to C. 800 A. D. At Hinglajgarh has been found an image of ten-handed Buddhist goddess Marici trampling god Ganesa. At Dhamnar in the same district are several Buddhist stupas. A few Buddhist images there have been carved in rocks.

Some years ago seven images of the Buddha and one parasol, all made of copper, were recovered from a place called Phopnar near Burhanpur in M. P. All the images show the Buddha standing in the *abhaya mudra*. In one image Buddha has a circular chhatra over his head. Four of the images are standing on a decorated high pedestal made of copper. The separate chhatra has a shaft in the centre decorated with dmalaka motif on the top. Two vidyadharas are shown under the chhatra. All these objects belong to the late Gupra period.

At Tumain (dist. Guna) and Gyaraspur (dist. Vidisha) remains of Buddhist stupas are noticed. These were constructed on the main routes passing through central India. At Gyaraspur several Buddhist images have been found. On one of them Buddha is shown in the earth-touching attitude.

Sirpur (dist. Raipur) and Malhar (dist. Bilaspur) were two great centres in the Kosala region. Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism fourished at these two centres from 6th to 10th centuies A. D. It can be said that from there Buddhism went to Orissa; where it had several important centers at Ratnagiri, Lalita a giri and other sites.

At Sirpur stone and bronze images of high artistic merit have been discovered. They can well be compared with the first-rate Buddhist images found at Nalanda, Kurkihar and the Orissan sites. The images from Sirpur are seated in double lotus pedestals. They are shown in different mudras. The Vajrayana images represent Tara, Manjusri, Vajrapani and other deities. On some slabs are depicted the scenes from Buddha's life.

Malhar was an earlier centre of art than Sirpur. The earliest inscribed image of a four-handed Visnu assignable to C. 200 B. C., has been found at Malhar (ancient Sarabhapura and Mallala-pattana). The excavations conducted at the site under my direction (1975-78) have yielded important material along with a huge Buddhist temple complex. Clay pots and sealings bearing Buddhist hymns have been obtained from the excavation.

The Buddhist temple-complex found at Malhar-4 is of unusual importance. This shrine belongs to the Vajarayana sect of Buddhism. In the centre of the temple there was a platform of bricks. Image of god Hevajra, a Vjrayan deity, was installed on the platform. The southern side was closed with a wall. On all the three sides of the platform there was a *pradaksinapatha.* Small room were also made on three sides. These were the residential rooms for the monks of the vihara. The structure has a massive stone plinth and brick walls. The structure was found connected with a rammed floor.

Another Buddhist shrine was excavated in trench no. 6 This trench was laid towards the northern side of Malhar close to village Jaitpura. The structure indicated that it was that of a caitya and belonged to the Vajarayana sect of Buddhism. It was rebuilt at a later date. The debris found scattered close to the caitya hall indicated this. Local stone was used for construction. The caitya hall has its entrance towards the east. Close to the entrance there were two platforms, one on each side. Towards the north there was another entrance or exist door. In front of this opening stood a Buddhist stupa. It was later destroyed along with the main building. The caitya hall has yielded a hard rammed floor of more than 60 metre thickness. The western end of the caitya was semi-circular in shape. In the centre there was a mud platform on which an image of Vajrayana deity was placed. The image is now preserved at Malhar. Towards the southern side of the city traces of viharas have been found. Two small brick pits were also unearthed from this trench. The exact use of these pits could not be determined. Probably they were used for keeping ashes.

Bagh in the Dhar district is second only to Ajanta in the field of fresco painting. It was an important Buddhist centre during the period from 5th to 8th century. A. D. Images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and several Buddhist anecdotes and decorative

patterns have been portrayed at Bagh with remarkable artistic excellence. The pictorial art of Bagh can well be compared with that of Ajanta in technique, richness of composition and aesthetic norms. The Archaeological Survey of India has recently taken necessary steps to preserve the relics of the Bagh caves. With the measures taken up by the Survey, further decay of the caves has been arrested.

The large number of stupas, sculptures and inscriptions found in several parts of Madhya Pradesh eloquently prove the development of Buddhism in this part of the country. Buddhists from all corners used to visit places like Sanchi, Bharhut, Dhamnar, Bagh, Sirpur and Malhar. The new inscription of Asoka discovered at Pangudaria in the Shore district of Madhya Pradesh shows that Pangudaria was another important centre for assemblage of the Buddhist.

ART OF KHAJURAHO

Khajuraho in the Chhatarpur district of Madhya Pradesh occupies a place of pride in the art history of India. Under the patronage of the Candellas it developed into a great centre of architecture and sculpture. According to the local tradition, 85 temples were constructed at Khajuraho. At present the number in and around Khajuraho is twentyfive only. These are assignable to a period between C. 900 and 1050 A. D. The Kandariya temple is by far the most magnificent in the entire group of temples.

These temples are of the *Nagara* or *Sikhara* style of northern India. They are reckoned as grand edifices built in accordance with the Sastric injunctions. Both the interior and the exterior of the Khajuraho temples are profusely ornamented.

Apart from their religious significance, the temples at Khajuraho represent interesting aspects of the mundane life of the people of central India. The lovely figures of the *Surasundaris*, richly carved in these temples, deserve special mention. Their voluptuous forms and enchanting postures have been skillfully portrayed by the artists of Khajuraho. For a study of the iconography of Saiva, Vaisnava and Jaina pantheons, Khajuraho offers a remarkable rich material.

The temples of Khajuraho furnish ample material for study of the development of north Indian temple-architecture in the course of several centuries. As they are in a perfect state of preservation it is possible to study their various parts in detail with the prescriptions found in the *Sastric* works.

As regards the sculptural art, several distinct categories are noticeable at Khajuraho. Theses are:

(i) *The* cult images of gods and goddesses.

(ii) The *Subsidiary deities, including the ganas, dikpalas, gandharvas and sasandevates.*

(iii) *The surasundaris, apsaras of madanikas.* They form a dominant and enchanting group of decorative figures in the temples.

(iv) *Domestic scenes.* These throw welcome light on various facets of life of different groups of the society.

(v) *Animals and Birds.* The most significant among the animals is sardula or vyala. In ancient literature it is also mentioned as *Ihamriga,* having some interesting syncratic forms.

(vi) *Natural scenes and various symbols.* They are important for the study of flora and fauna of the region significance. They are indicative of the fact that symbology in Indian art continued to play am important role even during the early medieval period.

The erotic art of Khajuraho is a class in itself. It represents the predominance of the Tantric beliefs as enunciated by the kaula-Kaplika sect of Saktism. Khajuraho was one of the chief centres of the sect, which thrived here during the reign of the later Candella rulers. From here it spread in several other parts of the Vindhya and Mahakosala regions of madhya Pradesh. it went further on to Orissa, where the art at Puri, Bhubaneswar and Konarka offers eloquent testimony to its unusual popularity.

In the art of Khajuraho one can see a beautiful mingling of various fine arts, viz., literature, architecture, music, dance and drama.

Khajuraho was a Saiva-Sakta centre *par excellence of* central Indian for quite a long period. They Vaisnavas also tried to establish a small centre of theirs in that area. It may be pointed out that there was no ancient Jaina establishment at Khajuraho. This place does not find any mention in the lists of Jaina *tirthas*, whereas even some minor centres of central Indian are referred to in the Jaina works and traditions.

It appears that during the late mediaeval period, the Jaina community succeeded in carving out its strong centre at Khajuraho. At that time the local Brhamanical pontiffs may have lost their previous hegemony over that area. This may have been caused due to decline in the State patronage. The religious and rich Jaina community probably through it worthwhile to renovated a group of the old Brahmanical temples and establish its claim on the temples, now know as the 'Jaina Group'. It is well known that during the late mediaeval period the Jaina community, on account of its religious catholicity, pursuit of knowledge and considerable success in the economic field, spread its predominance in several parts of the country, including the present region of Madhya Pradesh.

THE PARAMARA ART

The Paramaras started their rule in western Malwa in the middle of the tenth century A.D. Gradually the entire Malwas and parts of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Deccan came under their sway. The towns of Ujjain, Dhara, Daspaura, Vidisa, Bhojpur, Gyaraspur, Udaypur, Un, Onkar-Mandhata and Chandravatt developed during the rule of the Paramaras.

The region rose to great heights in the reigns of Munja and Bhoja. The latter was a versatile genius. His manifold achievements as conqueror, administrator, scholar and writer made Malwa rise to its full glory. Some of the later rulers of the dynasty continued the traditions of Munja and Bhoja.

The period of Bhoja was an age of artistic upsurge. Not only do the *Agamas, the Tantras and the Silpasastras* give an indication to this upsurge, but also the numerous extant monuments and sculptural remains testify to the extensive growth of fine art during

his time. The credit for the construction of a large number of Saiva temples in his empire goes to Bhoja.

The contemporary inscriptions furnish some interesting names of Siva and Devi in whose honour temples were set-up by kings, merchants and other people. For Siva-Mahadeva, we get the names Kedara, Ramesvara, Somanatha, Sundira, Kala, rudra, Ekalladeva, etc. Similarly, for goddesses, the inscriptions give the names of Bhattesvari Carcikadevi, Vagdevi, Chamunda, etc.

The *Bhumija* style of temple architecture gained ground during the Paramara rule. Quite a large number of the extant temples in Malwa. Gujarat and Rajasthan can be referred to in this connection. The last example can be seen in the Udayesvara temple at Udaypur. Which incorporates all the typical features of a *Bhumija* temple of the Nagara style. Most of the Paramara temples are of the *Panchyatana type.*

Quite a large number of the Brahmanical deities carved during the Paramara period are still preserved in the temple and elsewhere. Some are preserved in the museums at Indore, Dhara, Ujjian, Bhopal and Gwalior. Both from the point of view of aesthetic excellence and the iconographic details, they are remarkable.

In the Udayesvara temple two sculptures, representing Parvati and Sarasvati, are exquisitely carved. They tally with the description of Sridevi given by Bhoja, Numerous other example of Siva (in various forms), Visnu, Surya, Ganesa, Devi and the Tirthankaras can be cited. There are remarkable depictions of Yaksas, Yaksis and Sura-sundaris at Hinglajgarh, Nemawar, Jhalarpatan, Chittor, Vidishu, Bada-Pathari, Ujjain, Mandsaur and several other sites. Recent explorations at Highlajgarh in the Mandsaur district of Madhya Pradesh have brought to light more than five hundred stone sculptures of the Paramara period. Some of them are considerably important for the study of Indian art-history.

THE PICTORIAL ART

The ancient land of Avanti (later on called Malwa after the Malwa people inhabited it), developed a style of painting known as the Malwa School. Although some scholars call it a substyle of the Rajasthani School, the Malwa style possesses its distinct traits. From

the point of view of area, this style claims a much bigger region than several styles of the Rajasthani School. Apart from the Malwa region of present Madhya Pradesh, major parts of Bundelkhand and some areas of Gujarat and Deccan also came under the orbit of the Malwa School of painting.

The eastern part of Malwas, along with the contiguous region of Bundelkhand, has a topography different from that of western Malwa. It is mostly a hilly region. The area to the north of the river Narmada is covered by the Vindhya range and the land to the south of the river by the Riksa or Satpura range. In the past, most of it was a forest area full of animals and birds. This factor, along with the moderate climate of the region, was chiefly responsible for the fact that the aboriginals had their abodes in the rock-shelters on several river banks of the area. It is interesting to note that the largest number of rock-paintings in the whole country have been discovered in the districts of Sagar, Raisen, Sehore and Hoshangabad of this region. These painting cover a wide range of period from the prehistoric times to about 1400 A. D. The colours used in these paintings are usually red, ochre, yellow and blue. The rock-paintings of the mediaeval period show their authors' liking for green and white colours. The paintings of the period between C. 900 and 1400 A. D. portray various scenes of domestic life, animals and horse-riding, army-march and battles. These scenes can be compared with the contemporary sculptural art of central India.

The Gupta supremacy was established throughout Malwa and Bundelkhand. After the Guptas, the chief dynasties which ruled over Malwa and the Vindhya region, were those of the Gurjara-Pratiharas, the Chandellas, the Kacchapaghatas, the Kalacuris and the Paramaras. During their rule, the Gupta tradition of fine arts continued in the spheres of architecture, sculpture and painting. The traits of Gupta pictorial art of Ajanta are clearly discernible at Bagh in the Dhar district of M.P.

The region of Bundelkhand developed a pictorial style of its own in the mediaeval period. Datia, Jhansi, Chhatarpur, Rewa and several other centres. The folk traditions in pictorial art are very well preserved at Madanpur. Several illustrated manuscripts of the Ramayana. Mahabharata, Harivamsa, and of mediaeal poetic works are known.

The deep-rooted traditions of fine arts, which had developed in Malwa and the region around during the course of about 1500 years, could not be wiped out during the Muslim rule. Mandu in the Dhar district was made the capital by Sultan Hoshangshah in the beginning of the 15th century A.D. The third in descent from Hoshang was Mahmud-I, who composed poems in Brajabhasha. Baz Bahadur of this dynasty of Sulta of Malwa was well conversant with Indian music. His romances with the beautiful Rupamati of Malwa have been immortalised in the folk literature and art of Malwa. Jahangir had a great fascination for Malwa and its grand architecture. The natural beauty and the rich art-tradition of the region continued to be portrayed in the Malwa paintings.

The problems of regional extension and chronology of this school of pictorial art has been dealt with in some detail by Anand Krishna a few years ago. His division of these paintings under two broad categories "A" and "B", giving clear dividing lines, is convincing.

The subject-matter of Malwa paintings falls within the popular topics found in several other Rajasthani sub-styles. These are: scenes from the Ramayana, Krishnalila and the Devipatha. Other popular stories from the Amaru-Sataka, Dholamaru, Laur-Chanda, Ragamala and Baramasa are also profusely depicted.

The Ramayana scenes and the Krishnalila scenes are quite numerous. The scenes of Sita-harana,, the exploits of Hanuman and the war with Ravana were popular themes. Similarly the dalliances of Krisna with Gopis and his killing of Kansa and his demons are faithfully depicted in the Malwa paintings. It may be interesting to point out that in the plastic art of central India, the depiction of Ramlila and Krisnalila is found at Deogarh, Nachana, Eran, Kharod and Several other sites. Of particular interest are the panels at Nachna, showing the episode of Surpanakha of elopement of Sita and the construction of Setu by monkeys. At Eran even been discovered several Gupta panels representing scenes from Krishna's life. Mention may be made of birth of Krisna, Yamalarjuna, Chiraharana and killing of Kansa.

While examining these Malwa paintings, some notable features can be seen. In one of the paintings, showing the elopement

of Sita by Ravana, the lined dress of Ravana is of particular interest. It is the typical dress of the Bairagls of Malwa. The turban and the *patuka* are other dresses of the present-day Malwa found in the paintings. Similar is the dress of Hanuman and Jambumala in another illustration.

Coming to the Ragamala paintings, we notice several folk elements in them. The well-known depiction of Desaka-Ragint in the Kala Bhawan collection shows the figure of lady doing acrobatics. One rock-painting at Naryavali in the Sagar district shows in male acrobat in a similar position.

The Kanada Ragini represents three stages of a hunting melody. This melody was sung by the attendants of a royal hunter. After the hunt was complete, the attendants used to sing loudy, congratulating their master. The voice of the dying animal was mingled with the song, which thus created a note of sorrow.

Similarly, the origin of the Todi Ragini can be traced back in the song of the female peasants guarding their paddy fields. References to these damsels are found in the works of Kalidasa, Subandhu, Harsa and others. It was essentially the music of the primitive flute (noticed in-the archaic rock-paintings). The girls, by singing, used to wean away the deer seems to have been fully overpowered, ceasing to cause any mischief to the field.

A few more elements can similarly be traced in other Ragas and Raginis, like Lakita Ragini, the male and female in the centre are shown engaged in dancing. The female has big drum hung by her neck. The pair is flanked by females playing on various musical instruments.

The names like Saka-Pulinda Raga and Turuska Todi indicate connection of these melodies with the foreigners who had long association with the region if Malwa. the name of Bhuali Ragini indicates a local name.

Some of the iconographic traits, found in the Malwa paintings are also interesting. The worship of Siva Paravati and the figures of Ganesa and Siva on the paintings bear close resemblance to the iconographic norms of these deities known in the early mediaeval and later plastic art.

INDIAN AND SOUTH-EAST ASIAN ART

Plastic art has a long history of development in India and in the neighbouring countries. It constitutes an important source-material for the study of Indian civilization in its varies forms. For a comparative study an effort has been made here to assess the significance of the remains of the sculptural art available in Ceylone, Burma, Malaya, the peninsula of Indo-China and the islands known as East Indies.

These regions of South-East Asia are known to have had strong cultural and commercial relations with India for a period of over one thousand year. It was, therefore, but natural that diffusion of values of the developed cultures and also their impact took place, from time to time, in the areas culturally less developed. The inter-contacts assumed a viable magnitude with the advancement of civilization.

The diffusion and impact of Indian civilization is clearly discernible in the ancient sculptural art of the South-East Asian countries mentioned above.

Before coming into contact with India, several parts of the countries of south-east Asia had developed their own cultures based on their indegenous backgrounds. The remains of these primitive Polynesian cultures have come to light through archaeological explorations and excavations. Sufficient literary and art material is available now to show that the close contacts of these countries with Indian from about the beginning of the Christian era opened the door for a new pattern of civilization. At a later stage, although the local traits of the so-called Indo-Khmer and Indo-Japanes cultures played their own role, the influence of the inherent Indian civilization on the life and thought of the south-east Asian countries was quite distinct. This I amply borne out by a study of ancient socio-religious ideas, institutions and the art-remains of those countries.

While considering the plastic art of south-east Asian countries ranging in point of time between the 2nd nd 12th centuries A. D., one cannot ignore the fact that both in the field of concept and form, Indian iconographic formulas were undoubtedly adopted. Up to about C. 800 A. D. this Indian impact is found abundantly clear. The

so-called classical period of south-east Asian art, which can be bracketed between C. 800 and 1200 A. D., indicates assimilation of local traits with Indian iconographic prescriptions.

The two main Indian religions which popular in the neighbouring countries of south-east Asia were the Vedic-Puranic religion and Buddhism. Temples of Siva, Visnu and other deities, along with their numerous status, found in various parts of these countries prove the predominance of the Vedic-Puranic or Hindu religion. This is also borne out by a large number of carved panels representing scenes from the epics and some of the major Puranas. The inspirational evidence, along with the discovery of the Vedic sacrificial posts (yupas), discovered in Borneo and some other islands, corroborated this. The Hindu religion had a great appeal among the masses of these countries,who followed the popular beliefs and rituals of Hinduism in preference to any other religion.

Buddhism also played its significant role. The extant monuments, in the form of *stupas, caityas and viharas,* and quite a large number of Buddhist sculptures found in almost all the countries of south-east Asia go to prove the popularity of Buddhism in those regions. The ruling dynasties of Ceylon, Burma and Srivijaya made special efforts in this direction.

The epigraphical and sculptural evidence clearly points out to the fact that there was a spirit of toleration and harmony among the followers of the Vedic-Puranic faith and Buddhism. The theory propounded by some scholars that Buddhism had an upper hand over the Vedic religion does not seem to be plausible, at least in so far as the extensive regions of Indo-China, Indonesia and other islands of East Indies are concerned.

A close study of the ancient South-East Asian plastic art would reveal that not only its subject-matter but also its aesthetic principles, the iconometry, style and symbology are generally Indian. This holds good in the case of the variegated religious art that grew up in various regions during a period of about a thousand year. In so far as the secular art is concerned, decorative motifs and other traits, which may be put under this category, clearly testify to the broad-based Indian inspiration.

It is not possible to deal with the south-east Asian sculpture in detail. Only a brief account can be given here underlying its significance. As regards the Vedic-Puranic or the Hindu religion, it may be said that Saivism and Vaisnavism had an upper hand in south-east Asia, as compared to other religious systems. This can be borne out from the Saiva and Vaisnava temples and status discovered in Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Annam, Sumatra and Java.

The *Devaraja* cult of Kambuja gave an impetus to the growth of Saivism in that country. At Milson in champa, at Chandi Benon and Chandi-Jago in Java and several other sites, the Brahmanical images carved there are remarkable not only from the point of view of iconography but also for their aesthetic merits. The same can be said about the bronzes from Ceylon, representing Siva Nataraja, Pravati, Kartikeya, Visnu, Laksmi and other deities. The art-objects found at Rajapuri, Kedah, Takua-pa, Ligor and other sites in Thailand, bearing the Gupta and Pallava art-styles, can also be mentioned in this connection along with the Vaisnava and Saiva sculptures of Burma.

As regards the Buddhist sculpture, mention may be made of Anuradhpur in Ceylon; Ta-gaung, Prome and Thalon in Burma: Kedah, Lop-puri and several others sites in Indio-China, and Singasari and Borbudur in Java. These sites have not only yielded a large number of the images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, quite useful for iconographic study, but also abundant material representing various Jataka stories, scenes from the Buddha's life and other material of great cultural importance. Boroudur undoubtedly ranks very high from this point of view.

The Tantric cults, that grew up in course of time in India, Nepal and Tibet, had their influence on the art of south-east Asia. This can be noticed particularly in the later art of Burma, Sumatra and Java. In eastern Java numerous syncretic images have been discovered, which shed welcome light on the Tantric cults. In central Java also several Tantric metal images have been found.

A very interesting phase of the South-East Asian sculpture is noticeable in the form of harmonious blending of the Brahmanical

and Buddhist religions. Numerous examples of this can be cited from the art-relics in Cambodia and Java. The rulers of Kambuja and the Saliendra rulers gave an impetus to this integration in religion and fine arts.

One of the kings of eastern Java, Kertangara, was rightly designated as 'Siva-Buddha'. This was a happy tribute to the king who followed some of his predecessors, believing in the harmonious blending of the two important faith of south-east Asia. In Chandi-Jago, a Buddhist shrine of eastern Java. Various scenes from Lord Krishna's life are beautifully depicted. In another temple, called Chandi-Jawi, Saiva and Buddhist images are carved side by side. Numerous scenes from the Ramayana, in some respects similar to those at Ankorvat in Cambodia, can be seen at Chandi-Loro in eastern Java.

It should not, however, be through that the inter-contacts mentioned above were always one sided. There are several examples to show that some of the traits in south-east Asian are were freely imbibed by Indian artists at home. the example of the Buddhist images in Sumatra with flame-like projections above the usnisa can be cited in this connection. This trait was followed by the artists at Kanchi and some other places in South Indian. The elongated head-gears in the mediaeval Indian art hear a close resemblance to such a conventionalised style of some regions of south-east Asia.

This study of the sculptural art of south-east Asia would reveal its significance as a source-material. A comparative study of the vast material, now available to us, with the textual and epigraphical evidence would indeed prove rewarding for the study of the civilizations of Indian and of the contiguous regions of south-east Asia.

The questions of the impact of various Indian styles on the plastic art of south-east Asia bristles with controversies. Some of the views expressed by previous scholars pertaining to the regional influences require reconsideration. The eminent art-historian Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, for example, feels that the reliefs showing Nagas and Naginis, etc. At Anuradhpur in Ceylon bear affinities to the decorative motifs of the Sanchi art. On a close study of the Anauradhpur figures and motifs, it would appear that they are more

akin to the art of Amaravati and Nagarjunikoda that the art of sanchi in central India. The Vengi region had more distinct cultural contact with Ceylon in ancient times.

It may be assumed that the art-styles which developed under the Satavahanas, the Pallavas, the Chalukyas and Cholas of the south and the styles of the Guptas and the Palas of northern India had their impact on south-east Asian art. It may, however, be pointed out that certain distinctive features in the art-styles of different regions in India had grown up during the long period of time between the 2nd century B. C. and 13th century A. D. The same holds good in the case of south-east Asian art also, which bears interesting regional traits. A art-styles of India, from the aesthetic, iconographic and socio-cultural points of view would prove fruitful.

MUSIC AND DANCE

Early Phases

Recent explorations in various parts of the State have brought to light interesting evidence in the form of numerous painted rock-shelters. A majority of these are related to music and dance. Some of the rock-paintings found at Pachmarhi (Dist. Hoshangabad), Abchand (District. Sagar) and Barkhera (Dist. Raisen) show dance scenes. In some paintings seven persons are portrayed dancing hand-in-hand. In other cases the number is less than seven. Several paintings show groups of people dancing around fire. Usually, these were the harvest dances. On other accasions also merry-making were represented through music and dance. At Narayavali near Sagar one of the rock-paintings depicts a male dancer showing acrobatic feats. The rock-paintings at various sites in M. P. indicate different types of drums, flutes and few other musical instruments.

According to the Puranic traditions, the first king of the Chedicountry (modern Budelkhand) was Vasu. He introduced *Indramaha*, i.e. a festival in honour of Indra, the king of gods. The festival was in the form of dance and music in front of Indra's banner, called' *Indradhvaja*'. These merry-making were performed in the open and they may be regarded as the precursors of the later-day open air theatres, which became very popular in several parts of Madhya Pradesh.

The Ramagarh hill, about 50 kms south-east of Ambikapur in Madhya Pradesh has preserved a unique amphitheatre of its kind. For the dramatic performances one of the caves there, called Sitabengra or Sitamarhi, was used. This is known from two Maurya Brahmi in inscriptions carved at two places there and also from the extant structural evidence. The inscriptions refer to one actress named Sutanuka, who is called a devadasi. Her lover's name, Devadatta, is mentioned in the inscriptions. This Devadatta was the resident of Varanasi and was a great artist. He was probable responsible for the construction of the theatre at this tire. This theatre preserved at the Ramagarh hill is the earliest in the country. From the inscriptional evidence, it can be assigned to the second half of the 3rd century B. C.

The facade of the cave is simple. The length of the Sitamarhi theatre is 46×24'. For the entrance of the actors to the platform, a flight of steps is shown on the left side. This platform is built up in three *medhis*, each 7 feet wide. The crevices seen on the platform were meant for inserting the *poles* which supported the *tiraskarin* (curtain). The *mandapa* could accommodate about 50 persons.

When we compare this theatre with the *dvibhumi natya-mandapa* mentioned by Bharata in his *Natya Sastra* (II 81), we find a good deal of similarity between the two. According to Bharata, the *mandapa* for the audience should not be more than 64 hands in length in order that various actions of the actors may be clearly visible and their voices be audible to the audience. Bharata also refers to the form of a arrangement as *sopanvat Pithaka* (i.e. the seats in the form of a flight of steps). This feature is clearly seen in the theatre at Sitamarhi.

Another early open-air theatre has been discovered near Gwalior. At Nagarjunikonda in the Vengi region of Andhra Pradesh a larger theatre has been excavated. It belongs to the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.

Several art-centres in ancient Madhya Pradesh contributed largely to the development of music in this area. The art-relics at Bharhut, Sanchi, Bagh, Pawaya, Bhumra, Nachna, Khajuraho, Gyaraspur, Sirpur, Rajim, Janjgir and Bhoramedeo (to mention only a few) are a clear pointer to the fact that music and dance, in various

forms, were cultivated by all the classes of people in this part of the country.

The sculptures, particularly found at Bharhut, Sanchi, Pawaya and Khajuraho, throw in flood of light on various dance posture and musical instruments. The diction of the *Hallisaka* form of dance in one of the Bagh caves is well-known. The art-relics also indicate that the various musical instruments, mentioned in literary texts, were actually known to the people.

The ancient visual art of Madhya Pradesh is important from another points of view. A number of foreigners, in their typical dresses, are shown in the ancient sculptures and paintings playing on various type of musical instruments. These art-relics supplement the literary evidence regarding secular forms of music and dance prevalent in different regions of Madhya Pradesh.

The monuments of Bharhut and Sanchi depict various interesting enes of music and dance. Some of the musical instruments, seen in the art-relics of these two famous sites, are typically Indian, while others indicate foreign influence

It is difficult to say if the dance-postures portrayed in some of the sculptures at Bharhut and Sanchi have any sastric injunctions behind them or they present purely the fold elements. The technical details of various dances found in the *Natyasastra* of Bharata may have been followed in certain cases. But there are numerous instances in the early art of central Indian wherein purely folk devices are discernible. The antiquity of the folk tradition in music and dance goes back to the pre-historic rock paintings discovered in several parts of Madhya Pradesh.

During the Gupta period the classical trends became more prominent in music and dance. The numerous examples of plastic art from Pawaya, Bhumra, nachna and other Gupta sites in this region clearly indicate the developing classical tendencies in this field, like other fields of fine arts. The well-known lintel from Pawaya shows the chief dancing party in a most lifelike manner. In the centre is shown the chief dancing girl. She is surrounded by nine female musicians, all seated on comfortable round cushions. On the left of the first row is seated the guitar-player. The woman to the right is

playing on a vina. In the second row the musician on the left is blowing a flute. The corresponding figure on the right is playing on a small drum placed between her legs. In the third row are seated five females. The figure to the extreme left is only partly preserved. The woman next other is seen playing on a pair of cylindrical drums placed up-right. The next two figures are seen ringing cymbals. the lady on the extreme right, seated in a graceful pose, holds a bunch of flowers in her right hand. She appears to be the chief lady being entertained by the dance and music party. The costumes of all the female figures in the panel are shown with remarkable skill and taste.

The dancing gleaful figures of the ganas of Siva from Bhumra (dist. Satna) and Nachna (Dist. Panna) represent the joyous life of the Golden Age. The figures also indicate the blending of the classical elements with those of the fold life.

The central Indian art of the mediaeval period is profuse and variegated. Depiction of music and dance, in various forms, is seen in the monuments of Khajuraho, Gyaraspur, Suhania, Padavali, Sirpur, Rajim, Adbhar, and numerous other sites in Madhya Pradesh. This rich material, when thoroughly studied along with the contemporary literary evidence, goes a long way in understanding the development of music and dance in central India.

Contribution of Indian States

Music, in all its aspects, received encouragement at the hands of several states. Particular mention may be made of the states of Gwalior, Indore, Bhopal, Dhar, Orchha, Maihar, Rewa and Raigarh. The rulers of these states gave facilities to the musicians and other artists. The musicians with their states. People of the rich classes and the general public also took interest in popularising fine arts. As a result of this, the performing arts, along with the higher and folk literature, made advancement in various ways.

Credit goes to the Tomara rulers of Gwalior, Holkars of Indore. Nawabs of Bhopal and to the rulers of Orchha, Rewa, Raigarh and several other states for doing memorable work in the fields of fine arts. Their patronage to luminaries like Tansen, Bakshu, Baiju and others is well known in the history of Indian music.

It is utterly wrong to think, as believed by a section of critics, that the Indian rules were concerned with the 'court music' alone and they did not have any broad-based idea of fine arts. In fact, a good number of rulers of Gwalior, Indore, Rewa and Raigarh contributed immensely not only to preserve the old musical devices but also to popularise them with necessary innovations as per requirements of their times. Their healthy approach towards the art of music was inconsonance with the time-old Indian tradition that music, like other fine arts, was to be cultivated not merely for the pleasure of senses but for a higher purpose of ennobling the mind and the soul.

Some of the rulers invited experts even from far-off places for discussions and compilations of treatises. The examples of Bhoja Paramara the Kalacuri rulers, and later on, of the rulers of Gwalior, Rewa and Raigarh are before us. Raja Chakradhar Singh of parts of the country. With their help he got compiled voluminous works on dance, music and instruments giving illustrated details about various styles of Indian dances and also about the artists. He was responsible for founding the new school *(gharana)* of music at Raigarh.

Indira Kala Sangita Vishvavidyalya, Khairagarh

This university is the first of its kind in the country. The present rulers of Khairagarh in the name of Indira, the daughter of Rani Padamavati and Raja Birendra Bahadur Singh of Khairagarh. The sweet flower Indira is no more. But the fragrance is wide-spread in the country. The university has various faculties of music and has been doing commendable work at Khairagarh and in its affiliated colleges concerning teaching and research in different branches of Indian music.

Ustad Alauddin Khan Sangita Academy

Recently the Department of Culture of the State Government has established this Academy to commemorate the name of Ustad Alauddin Khan, one of the top-ranking musicians of the present times. The Academy has so far held several music sessions at Maihar (the home-town of the Ustad) and other places of the State. The chief

aim of the Academy is to preserve popularise music. The Academy also gives prizes and recognitions to talented artists.

Chakradhar Singh Nritya Kendra

As branch of the above Academy, a Dance-Centre has been set up by the State Culture Department in the name of Raja Chakradhar Singh. This centre to the needs of study and research mainly on Indian Karhak dance.

Military Music

At the Military Academy, Pachmarhi, there are adequate arrangements for the study of the military music up to the first Degree level.

Akashvani

There are seven radio station in the State. These are located at Gwalior, Indore, Bhopal Chhatarpur, Rewa and Raipur. Much appreciable work has been done by these radio stations in the fields of classical and folk music and dramatic performances in their respective regions. Besides, they have been done by these radio stations in the fields of classical and folk music and dramatic performances in their respective regions. Besides, they have been encouraging a large number of young artists. Credit goes to the Akashvani for taking necessary steps towards the advancement of learning, particularly in regard to the regional dialects, folk-lore and the performing arts. The backward areas in the State have duly been taken care of by the AIR, which has also done its job admirably well towards the cultural integration of the country.

Tradition Continues

The long tradition of music and the dramatic arts continues in the State both in the urban and rural areas. The tribals and other backward communities have retained the distinct traits of their musical culture to this day. This is discernible not only in their vocal music and instruments but also in the dance-dramatic performances.

Modern Artists

The State has to its credit some eminent modern artists in various fields of performing arts. Mention may be made of the fallowing who have earned a name in their respective fields of specialisation: Sarvasri Krishnarao Shankar Pandit and chandrakant Pandit (Gwalior): Kumar Gandharva (Dewas), Pandit Shrimal (Ujjain), Nataraj Arun Kumar, Durga Prasad and Amir Khan (Indore); Ganga Prasad Pathak (Vidhisha), Daddu Khan and Rashmi Bajpai (Bhopal), Amjad Ali (Maihar), V. G. Ringe, Om Prakash Chaurasia, Ramji Harshe, Harshkumar Chaturvedi and Shiv Shakar Bharagava (Sagar); Srimati Asgari Bai (Tikamgarh), Kiran Deshpade (Jabalpur), S. K. Banerji (Rewa), Vimalendu Mukherji and Budhadiya Mukerji (Bhilai); V.K. Joshi, Tulsiram Devangam, A. K. Sen, smt Anita Sen, Kalyandas, Kartikram, Habib Tanweer and Shekh Gulab (Raipur); Thakur Lakshman Singh, Vedmani Singh, and Barmanlal (Raigarh); Gajanan Tade, V. C. Ranade and P. D. Ashrivadam (Khairagarh).

The State Department of Culture and Sangit Vishvavidyalaya. Khairagarh have also started publication work in the field of performing arts. The Sangit Vishvavidyalaya has recently published the work *Bharata Bhashyam* (edited by Desai). The work Nartana Sarvaśva on dance and other worked (such as Tala Toyanidhi) prepared under the patronage of Raja Chakradhur Singh require early publication after proper editing. This task could be taken up by the State Department of Culture, which has already given a fillip to the artists of the country by instituting several awards, including the highest Kalidasa award, and prizes.

Culture and State

Of late, M. P. State Government has started taking keen interest in the development of literature and fine arts. A separate Department of Culture has been created for this purpose. It is gratifying to note that the Department has prepared some laudable schemes to encourage creative literature. besides a few other periodical and brochures, it publishes a Hindi journal called *Purvagraha*, which contains mostly writings and their appreciation. The Department continues to give a good number of prizes to the

litterateurs. Some of the prizes were created earlier, which a few notable ones have been started recently.

The biggest literary award of Rs. 2,100/- in Hindi was initiated in 1933 by Sro Bir Singh Deva-II, the scholar-ruler of Orchha. It was known as the *Deva Puraskara.* This *Puraskara* was awarded to several eminent Hindi writers in the past. Presently, apart from the Deva Puraskara, there are several other awards and prizes instituted after the names of illustrious literary dignitaries of the country.

The implementation of the broad-based policy of the Sate Government towards the development of cultural activities is commendable indeed. Due of the patronage of the Chief Minister of the State, Sri Arjun Singh, a fillip has been given to the advancement of these activities.

GANDHIAN ERA BEINGS

On my way from Allahabad to Raipur I had to change trains twice, first at Katni and then at Bilaspur. Up to Katni it was Allahabad which had occupied my thoughts. As soon as I boarded the train for Bilaspur, the problem of facing my father drove every other thought out of my mind. How to break the news to him? He was self-willed. So was I Was. I to return his harsh words with my harsh words? Suddenly, it struck me that I should place myself in his position. With equal suddenness my heart was filled with intense sympathy for him. I was his eldest son and his ambitions or the future of the family had gradually come to be centred around me. What I was going to tell him would be a shock for him. If he could not understand me, I should try to understand him. I could not surrender but I would be patient with him.

I reached home, and within moments found myself faced with an altogether different situation. No sooner has I touched his feet, than a barrage of questions fell upon my ears: Why have I come? Had the preparation leave started so early? Why had I brought the family with me? I was left with no alternative but to tell him the truth. He quivered with anger and instantly left the room without uttering a word. There was no rebuke. The anticipated harsh words were not there. I lived under the same roof with him for about a month but was not afforded an opportunity to place my point of

views before him. My mother informed me that he had decided to dissociate himself from me for ever. She could neither persuade my father nor me to change our respective stands and perforce resigned herself to suffer in silence. In fact, suffering in silence became the prevailing mood of the entire family. Gradually, I realized that by my stay I was merely prolonging agony.

In this awful predicament I turned for advice to Madhava Rao Spare, my former friend, philosopher, and guide. Having heard me patiently he asked me: "How long do you thin it would take to win Swaraj?" When I told him that the Mahatma had fixed the period of only a year, he smiled and said: "Theoretically Gandhiji is right. If the entire nation non-cooperated the government sooner or later would have to yield, but this is impossible." He added that "those who were non-cooperating should prepare themselves for a lifelong struggle for independence." Saying this he fixed his big bright eyes upon me. I sensed his purpose and faced him boldly. He appeared satisfied, and after a prolonged silence advised me to adopt journalism as my profession. When I told him that I had not even graduated he replied that C. Y. Chintamni was merely a matriculate. We decided to discuss the matter further after my return from Nagpur.

As the Nagpur session of the Congress drew near, considerable excitement and expectancy prevailed all over the country. Raipur was also agog. I found a large number of people desirous of witnessing the momentous session as visitors. This was easy as Raipur is connected with Nagpur both by rail and road. Being known to almost all the Congress workers, including their leader Ravi Shankar Shukla, I easily got myself enrolled as a delegate.

Since, 1920 I have attended most sessions of the Congress, annual and special, but none can stand in comparison with the one held in Nagpur. It was unique in many respects. The number of delegates attending it had risen to more than fourteen thousand, a number never to be surpassed in its history. It was there that Gandhi was enthroned as the supreme leader of the nation, a position which he held till the end of his life. Sences of Hindu-Muslim unity seen there were not only unprecedented but never to be witnessed again. The goal of the Congress was declared to be the "attainment of

Swaraj by the people of Indian by all legitimate and peaceful means." The constitution of the Congress was completely overhauled to make it a fit instrument for work all through the year. With this change the Congress ceased to be the organization of the educated alone, who used their Christmas holidays to make speeches and disperse without leaving behind any programme of work to be carried on by Congressmen during the following year. The doors of the Congress were new opened wide for the masses which resulted in tremendous awakening of the people in villages and towns/of India.

The Congress at Nagpur resembled the Kumbha mela on the banks of the Triveni. During the day thousands of men, women and children heard and cheered their leaders. At all hours of the night, the Congress Nagar resounded with national songs, the themes being the Jallianwla Bagh tragedy, the khilafat wrong, the impoverishment of the people under the British Raj, the need for national unity, and the heroism of the Rani of Jhansi and tipu Siltan, who had fallen fighting the tyrannical foreigner. Those attending the session breathed in anew atmosphere of awakened India and returned altogether transformed to their homes.

On 16 June Gandhi had answered his critics, who had doubted the Indian people's strength of purpose and the capacity to suffer, by a counter question: "Shall we not evolve them and infect the nation with them?" Hardly six months had elapsed and one could see at Nagpur the Gandhi had moulded heroes out of clay. Suddenly, the realization came to me that as the source of the holy Ganga could only be the Himalayas, so only the truly great could lift up a downtrodden people and fill them with self-respect, fearlessness, and the will to succeed. Jawaharlal rightly remarked: "The greatest gift for an individual or a nation, so we had been told in our ancient books, was abhaya, fearlessness, not merely bodily courage but the absence of fear from the mind....that it was the function of the leaders of people to make them fearless. But the dominant impulse in India under British rule was that of fear, pervasive, oppressing, strangling fear of the official class; fear of laws meant to suppress, and of prison; fear of the landlord's agent; fear of the moneylender; fear of unemployment and starvation, which were always on the

threshold. It was against this all-pervading fear that Gandhi's quiet and determined voice was raided: Be not afraid."

This upsurge of the masses not only made the rules uneasy in their seats of power but also changed the attitude of the old leaders. Both did not fail to realize that what was now happening in India had never happened before. The proceedings of the session also could not escape the impact of the masses. In the special session at Calcutta the resolution on no-cooperation had been passed by a majority of only seven votes in the subjects committee. In Nagpur, it was accepted almost unanimously. In Calcutta C. R. Das had led the opposition to Gandhi and his programme. In Nagpur he was the mover of the non-cooperation resolution. In Calcutta all the senior leaders, except Motilal Nehru, had opposed Gandhi. In Nagpur almost all the nationalist leaders, inducing Lala Lajpat Rai and Babu Bipin Chandra Pal, came over to his side. But M. A. Jinnah offered persistent opposition, and continued to refer to the Mahatma as "Mr Gandhi" in the midst of repeated interruptions.

However, more than a thousand Muslim delegates, led by Hakim Ajmal Khan, M. A. Ansari and the Ali brothers, stood solidly by Gandhi. The president of the session, Vijaya Raghavacharier, had his doubts about the efficacy of non-cooperation but be acted constitutionally. Every time he found himself disagreeing with a resolution under discussion, he vacated the chair. This exercise in repeatedly taking and vacating the chair puzzled and amused a large number of those visitors who were ignorant both in the English language and of the procedural niceties. Whether the president liked it or not he did openly confess about the Nagpur session that "it was a Congress in which, instead of the President and the leaders driving the people drove him and the leaders." Gandhi expressed his satisfaction by saying that now "I may be said to have made my real entrance into the Congress politics."

Bengal and Maharashtra had solidly opposed Gandhi in Calcutta. In Nagpur the emotional Bengali complexly changed his attitude. But the Maharastrian, despite the fact that Nagpur was a Marathis speaking town, continued to persist in opposition. Only a couple of days before the session, Dada Saheb Khaparde, a senior Congress leader from Berar, had strongly ctiricized the non-

cooperation programme. The entire Marathi-speaking area, including the Nagpur and Amraoti divisons of CP and Berar, had looked up to Pona and Tilak for political guidance. The senior Maharashtrian leaders were now dinning into the ears of their people that the late Lokamanya had opposed non-cooperation. it was true that Tilak had proposed "to work the Montagu Reforms Act for all it is· worth," but it was equally true that when the Montagu-Chlemsford report was published he had remarked that "it was a good report with a useless scheme." The fact appears to be that in the absence of a militant programme he had proposed to work the reforms based on the same "useless scheme." Then suddenly, the Mahatma emerged with a powerful programme. This was something quite different from what political India had known so far. It should not cause surprise if an astute giving his approval. This is borne out by evidence furnished by a number of distinguished Maharashtrian public men.

K. P. Khadilkar, one of the closet associates of Tilak and the editor of Kesari Tilak's famous Marathi weekly, was instructed by him on the eve of his departure for England as follows: "Gandhi's path is different. We can not accept all that he says, but keep this in mind: Gandhi is a true patriot and stands for freedom. In view of this give support to his programme as far as possible. When you can not do so be silent but never oppose. "'Referring to his last conversation with Tilak before his death, Khadilkar write:

"Barrister Das had enquired from Tilak through a personal letter where he would agree to preside over the special session of the Congress to be held on Calcutta. After a discussion lasting for a couple of days Tilak turned down the request. On the eve of his leaving Poona for Bombay I had a long discussion with him lasting for more than an hour. When this took place we had no idea that this was going to prove to be our last exchange of views. In the course of this conversation he clearly explained to me the policy underlying his decision not to preside over the Calcutta Congress. He said: 'In principle no thoughtful person will disagree with Mahatma Gandhi's Non-cooperation, but people of different classes and professions will practice it only to the extent they can. This being so, the national organisation is likely to be divided into a number of groups. This

may break up the Congress into various parties. In such a situation it should be necessary for us to work with all our strength to prevent division. It is only within the last four or five years that we have succeeded in bringing different through within the Congress to prevent our political strength being dissipated. I have not accepted the presidentship so that I may be able to play that role of keeping all groups together effectively." Khadilkar also draws attention to Tilak's statement at the Benaras session of the All Indian Congress Committee that "my entire life has been governed by the principle of non-cooperation." But what is more important is Gandhi's own testimony. In his reminiscences of Tilak he writes that about non-cooperation Tilak significantly repeated what he had said to him before: "I like the programme well-enough, but I have my doubts as to the country being with us in the self-denying ordinances which non-cooperation presents to the people. I will do nothing to hinder the progress of the movement. I wish you every success, and if you gain the popular ear, you will find in me an enthusiastic supporter." On the eve of the Amritsar Congress, a session which saw him for the last time, the Lokamanya had just returned from London. Regretting his absence during the arrest of the Mahatma he had remarked: "I wish I had been in Bombay when Gandhi began Satyagraha. I would have borne difficulties with him and undergone the hardships. I am angry with Gandhi for that."

This being Tilak's attitude it is but reasonable to hold that if he had not breathed his last only five months before the Nagpur session, he would have become and enthusiastic supporter of the new movement, particularly because Gandhi had demonstrably gained the "popular ear," and his so-called followers would not have had the opportunity to mislead the patriotic and freedom-loving people of Maharashtra. Although Tilak could not have had his own disciples in his mind, he Moderated tomorrow, just as the Moderates of today were the extremists of yesterday."

One of the resolutions passed at Nagpur divided British Indiainto linguistic provinces for the purposes of Congress work. This proved to be a historic decision as it finally led to the creation of linguistic states in independent India. Its wisdom is being questioned even now in certain quarters. As a matter of fact the decision only gave recognition to the diversity underlying the unity

of the subcontinent-a characteristic of Indian culture arising out of its geography and historical development. While utter disregard of this factor has proved catastrophic for Pakistan, its recognition has enabled Indian statesmanship to pacify even discontented areas on our borders.

The Nagpur resolution, creating linguistic provinces, also affected the bilingual CP and Berar. The 14 Hindi-speaking districts of CP were placed under the Hindi CP provincial Congress committee with headquarters at Jabalpur, nagpur and Berar divisions could have formed one Congress province but the Berar is, under the leadership of M. S. Aney, insisted on having a separate provincial Congress committee for their four districts with Amraoti as the headquarters. This left the four Marathi districts of CP to be placed under what was named the Marathi CP Congress committee. This three-fold division of the provinces affected its politics in various ways until 1956 when the central Indian princely states were merged in the Hindi districts to form the new state of Madhya Pradesh with its capital at Bhopal as a result of the recommendation of the States Reorganization Commission.

I returned to Raipur full of enthusiasm and self-confidence. Had I had my own way I would have immediately thrown myself heart and soul into the work of furthering the non-cooperation movement, but Spare could not be ignored. He insisted on my sticking to our previous resolve, to prepare myself for a journalistic career. He asked me to proceed to Jabalpur and join the Rashtriya Hindi Mandir, an institution he had started with the financial assistance of Seth Govind Das. He explained to me that he wanted the Rashtriya mandir to develop quickly and then, besides other branches, to have a separate department for training students for a journalistic career. As this was likely to take some time he advised me to devote myself to the task of writing the history of the Indian National Congress. With the consequences of disobeying my father still agitating my mind, I accepted Spare's advice.

In the meantime the Congress had decided to boycott the visit of the duke of Connaught. He was the uncle of king-emperor George V, from whom he had brought a message for the people of Indian announcing "the beginning of Swaraj with my empire." It was for the first time that the work "swaraj" occurred in an official

document. The word was actually first used by Dadabhai Naoroji in his presidential address as far back as the Calcutta Congress of 1906. But the Reforms Act of 1919, which the king-emperoro had characterized as the "beginning of Swaraj" had completely failed to catch the imagination of the people, who were now waiting for full swaraj in the course of a year as promised by Gandhi. My arrival at Jabalpur coincided with the day of boycott of the visit of the duke. The town of Jabalpur had observed a complete hartal and it was with considerable difficulty that I could reach the residence of Govind Das.

Govind Das, the grandson of Raja Gokul Das, belonged to a family well known in the province for its steadfast loyalty to the British Government. During the revolt of 1857, the family had contributed its bit to be the success of British arms and had received recognition and reward at the hands of the government. However, the Gandhian era had wrought many miracles, and it was nothing short of miracle for Govind Dad to be born and brought up in an ultra-loyal family and yet turn out to be a rebel against a government to obey which had been considered almost a religious duty by his ancestors. At the time of my arrival in Jabalpur, he was engaged in a tussle with his father. When I handed over Spare's letter to him, its contents puzzled him. He glanced at me several times while reading and re-reading the letter. Later, when we became close friends, he told me that but for his confidence in Spare's be entrusted with the responsibility of writing the history of the Congress.

The town of Jabalpur, situated not far from the banks of the holy Naramada, appeared to me like so many towns of UP, although somewhat cleaner. However, it has altogether different surroundings, which in their picturesqueness resemble the city of Poona with its hills and woods. Its world-famous marble rocks, through which the river Narmada cuts its passage, fascinated me. Politically it had awakened later than Raipur but was now throbbing with new life. Besides the Rashtriya Hindi Mandir, which was already publishing the monthly magazine Shri Karmaveer, which rivalled the Pratap of Kanpur in its advocacy of the Gandhian movement. Its editor Makhan Lal Chaturvedi had come from Khandwa to be followed by Lakshman Singh Chauhan and his wife

Subhadra Kumari Chauhan. All these newcomers from Khandwa were ardent patriots, and in course of time made their mark in the public life of Jabalpur and the province. Chaturvedi and Shrimati Chauhan gained all-India recognition as poets of great merit.

In independent India, when the government of Madhya Pradesh erected a monument for Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi in Gwalior at the foot of the fort where she had fallen fighting, the concluding lines of Subharda Kumari's famolus poem on this heroine came to be inscribed at my instance—a fitting tribute both to the heroine and the poetess, Later, during my vice-chancellorship of the University of Saugor, the degree of D. Litt, was conferred upon Chaturvedi. When I assumed the office of Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, Rajyapal H. V. Pataskar accompanied me to Khandwa to honour the old ailing poet and to grant him a life pension for his services to the world of Hindi literature.

As Jabalpur had come to be the headquarters of the Hindi CP provincial Congress committee, the Congress leaders held their first provincial conference there in May 1921, with barrister E. Raghavendra Rao as its president. Rao had already suspended his practice at the Bilaspur bar and had joined the non-cooperation movement. As in the course of time the two of us were destined to come into conflict, it would perhaps be opportune to say few words about him at this stage. His ancestors, belonging to the Kamma community, had been a contractor. He was only a little over 30 when he came to preside over the provincial conference. A well- read man, he had been kept himself informed not only of political development in northern Indian but also of the politics of the south. In these early years of his political life, he showed himself full of enthusiasm for the Gandhian movement. His written presidential address breathed fire and brimstone and immediately attracted me towards him. After the conference was over, I had a long discussion with him in the course of which I discovered that, besides politics, both of us were equally interested in history and literature. We discussed in some detail A short History of the World by H. G. Wells. He had memorized Wells' tribute to emperor Ashoka and to my amusement repeated the following sentence world for word: "Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history,

their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Ashoka shines, and shines almost alone, a statr." We then discussed books on Indian history and he complained that almost all historians had treated the history of south India as it were a mere appendage to that of the north. He did not share my view that this was due only to the paucity of material, but agreed when I said that if ancient sites in the Central Provinces and central India were to be properly excavated, the results obtained might serve as a connection link between the north and south in as much as the ruling dynasties of these central regions appeared to have had political and material relations with the ruling families of both the north and the south.

Being habituated from my boyhood to avoid people rolling in wealth, I had so far kept myself at a distance from Govind Das. He had been elected chairman of the reception committee of the political conference but, a fortnight before it was held, he had fallen seriously ill. He requested Sapre to prepare his address and the later entrusted the task to me. As I had already studied the history of the Congress in the light of available records and had also watched the development beginning with the Rowlatt Bills and ending with the Nagpur Congress, I produced an address which was both informative and hot with patriotic fervour. When read out by a local congressman on behalf of the ailing Govind Das, it drew enthusiastic applause and favourable comments from the provincial press. On his recovery from illness Govind Das profusely thanked me for the address and requested me to meet him as often as I could.

Month followed month and there was no sign of the proposed department of journalism coming into being. I grew impatient, and when Sapre visited Jabalpur in the first week of September, I reminded him of his promise. He became apologetic and explained that the scheme had not been dropped but owing to the opposition of his father, Govind Das had not been able to finance the institution as much as he would have liked to do. Thereupon, I requested him to release me from the Rashtriya Mandir and allow me to proceed to Calcutta to gain practical experience of journalistic work in the office of the Amrita Bazar Patrika. he reluctantly agreed and said that if I liked he could give me a letter of introduction to Shyam

Sunder Chakravarti, the editor of the newly started Calcutta daily, the Servant. I thankfully accepted the offer and prepared to leave for Calcutta. On learning from Sapre that I was leaving the Rashtriya Mandir, Govind Das expressed keen disappointment. He pleaded with me but, finding me adamant in my resolve to quit, he proposed that I should stay in Calcutta with his firm, and thus enable him to keep contact with me. Knowing full well that I would be a stranger in Calcutta, and still remembering what had happened to me when I had fallen still remembering what had happened to me when I had fallen ill in allahabad, I accepted the offer which was full of warmth.

The no-cooperation movement was spreading like wildfire in the country. C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhabai Patel, and C. Rajagopalachari had given up their lucrative legal practices and were followed by lawyers in various provinces. With Bengal leading, thousands of students had suspended their studies, councils had been boycotted by the nationalists and a very large number of voters in every province had kept away from polling booths. The charkha (spinning wheel) entered even the villages and Congressman led the way in donning cloths made of coarse khadi. Bonafires of foreign cloth were lighting up the cities and towns, in which leaders like the Nehrus participated by consigning to flames piles of their prized garments. Picketing of liquor shops was so successful that in many provinces, government suffered serious financial losses.

The intensify the movement further the Mahatma and the Ali brothers again undertook an Indian tour. Simultaneously other leaders also went about their respective provinces addressing enthusiastic mass meetings. The campaign had generated a spirit of fearlessness among all sections of the population and people were no longer in a mood to tolerate age-long injustices. The Akai Sikhs in the Punjab rose in revolt against ready to protect vested interests, opened fire and a number of Sikhs were martyred. In Mulsi Petha in Maharashtra, peasants threatened to resort to satyagraha for the redress of their grievances.

The government, which in the initial stages, of the movement had ridiculed it, now woke up to the realities of the situation. What scared them most was the unprecedented spectacle of Hindu-

Muslim unity. It was the differences between the various communities which had made the establishment of British Raj possible and which were sustaining it. If they could not divide, they could not rule. They pondered over the situation and reached the conclusion that as Maulana Mohammad Ali was the chief architect of the Hindu-Muslim unity on the Muslim side, "If trouble comes between him and Gandhi, it means a clash between Hindus and Muslim." The new viceroy Lord Reading invited the Mahatma for an interview, and complained that the Ali brothers had not been maintaining the spirit of non-violence in their speeches. The Mahatma, though unaware of the motive behind this complaint, counteracted the sinister move by securing a statement from the all. brothers repudiating all incitement to violence.

The government, having failed in its attempt to create division, now resorted to its usual weapon of repression. It arrested thousands of Congress workers but this only resulted in fanning the fire of discontents: Gandhi regarded this changed attitude of the government as a sign of the success of his plans. In the first week of July, a session of the Khilafat conference was held in Karachi. The Ali brothers got a resolution passed by it, calling upon the Muslims, in the name of religion, not "to continue in the British army or to induce others to join the army". This was followed by a fatwa by the maulvis to the same effect. In the government's view, of course, this a mounted to tampering with the loyalty of the army upon which, in the final analysis, rested the existence of the British empire in India. However, in view of the popularity of the Ali brothers, both with the Hindus and the Muslims, the government could not muster enough courage to lay immediately their hands upon them. They waited for the right opportunity and they had not long to wait.

In the month of August, the ignorant but fanatical Muslim Moplas of Malabar broke out in open rebellion. They not only murdered a few Europeans but also a number of Hindu zamindars and moneylenders. They also desecrated temples and converted some Hindus forcibly to Islam. This was a Godsend not only for the government but also for the politically reactionary Hindu communialists who raised the cry of "Hinduism in danger." A breach had been caused between the two communities and the authorities

now decided to act. The government of the presidency of Bombay issued a warrant of arrest against the Ali brothers. charging them with tampering with the loyalty of the British army. Afraid of the Muslim masses in the north, the government got Mohammad Ali arrested as far in the south as Waltair, when he was on his way to Malbar to pacify the Moplas. Gandhi took up in the challenge and called a conference of natinalist leaders in Bomnay. A manifesto, supporting the stand of the Ali brothers with regard to the Indian soliders in the British army, was issued bearing the signatures of almost all the important leaders of the country. The contents of the manifesto were repeated in public meetings held in most of India. Thus the government, by its folly, added one more item to the programme of non-cooperation, and was now in a fix.

It was almost on the eve of Mohammad Ali's arrest that I reached Calcuttal. I was given accommodation on the first floor of Govind Das's firm—a spacious office-cum-residential quarter in Burra Bazar. True to its name, Burra Bazar is a big bazaar, being perhaps the most densely populated and noisy part of the city of Calcutta. Every kind of transport devised by human ingenuity can be seen on the streets of Burra Bazar. If the noise lessens of bit after midnight, the devotees of the holy Ganga are on the streets loudly chanting in a chorus the various names of the Almighty. However, the merciful God had conferred upon me at least one gift, the gift of sound sleep, and hence the Burra Bazar's noctural noises failed to disturb my peaceful slumber.

Soon after my arrival, I searched out the office of the newly started daily, the Servant, I was shown into a big hall. As soon as I stepped in, a novel scene met my eyes. I saw an old man, surrounded by a dozen young men, seated on a small takhat (divan). He was completely naked but for his dhoti which too had been tucked up round his waist. Two young men were shampooing his two thighs, and a third one was vigorously rubbing oil on his two thighs, and a third one was vigorously rubbing oil on his hoary head. Other around him were listening respectfully to him jokes and giggling. I stood amazed for a few minutes, and letter of introduction to one of the young men, who in turn, passed it on to the seated figure. I instantly concluded that I was now in the presence of Shyam Sundar

Chakravarti. Having gone through the letter the old geneltman looked at me, and I could not fail to notice that his eyes were full of affection and compassion. He enquired whether I had any previous experience of journalistic work. I told him that I had worked with Bhavishya of Allahabad. He had Known Sundaralal and asked me a number of questions about him and other political leaders of the town. While he was talking to me, news came that fire had broken out in a part of Burra Bazar. Suddenly, he produced a few rupees, without my noticing where from, and tossed it at me, directing me to proceed immediately to Burra Bazar and write out a report for the paper. I picked up the rupees and left. I knew not that I had to begin as a reporter.

On my way to Burra Bazar in a rickshaw, I could not but think of the amazing scene I had witnessed. Was this a newspaper office or a Gurkula? Where the kulpatis in ancient India fawned upon by their disciples in this manner? Are we returning to old times as a result of the national awakening, and Bengal is leading the way? By the time I reached Burra Bazar, I decided that whatever I had known about the Bengalis in CP and UP was not enough, and that I would have to understand Bengal shedding all my previous notions about it.

Next morning I felt happy to find that my report about the Burra Bazar fire had been published without the slightest change. However, I had set my heart on working in the Amrita Bazar Patrika and started making enquiries as to who was who in the Patrika office. I was told that its renowned editor Motilal Ghosh was bedridden with serious illness, and that his brother Golopal Ghosh was looking after its management. I immediately contacted Golop Babu, who directed me to Jitendra babu at his residence. It had seen him at Nagpur during the Congress session, and was now received by him with courtesy. I immediately gained his sympathy when I told him that I had non-cooperated from Muir Central College, Allahabad he was an ardent Gandhian and had opposed C. R. Das at the special session of the Congress, when the latter had differed from the Mahatma. At Nagpur the breach between the two had been bridged, and now he, with a batch of young supporters, was working shoulder to shoulder with Deshbandhu. He informed me that most of

the time he was busy with political work and would therefore welcome anyone who could help him.

Next day room was found for me in the office of Golop Babu. He was a kindly old man and kept me busy with all sorts of work connected with the paper. Attending public meetings became now a part of my work. All the three language-Bengali, Hindi and Urdu were being used by the speakers. I was taken aback when, for the first time, I heard a Bengali Muslim making a fiery speech in highly Sanskritized Bengali. Later on, when I visited the library and the reading room of Calcutta University I found it impossible to distinguish between Muslim and Hindu students, as both had similar features and were clause in the same usual Bengali apparel.

This was a new and pleasant experience for me, as neither in CP nor in UP had I came across such a sameness between the two religious communities.

Side by side with the work of reporting, I took to writing editorial notes. Both Jitendra Baby and Golop Babu encouraged me and after a couple of months I began contributing articles on foreign affairs. I avoid current Indian politics in the belief that Jitendra Babu would not entrust that part of his editorial responsibility to anyone else. By the courtesy of Golop Babu I was allowed access to the old files of the Patrika. As I had expected, these proved to be of great benefit for my political education, as a good part of the political history of modern Indian lay hidden in them.

While reporting, I had many opportunities of coming across Deshbandhu Das along with other reporters. His generosity had become proverbial. He had already sacrificed a good deal and was on his way to sacrifice all he possessed. Seeing him, one could not help comparing him with Motilal Nehru. Both were highly cultured and patriotic. While Motilal was governed by his head, Das was moved by his heart, with the result that while the former was discreet, the latter was impulsive. Both had absorbed Western culture, but in the case of Motilal it had been modified by Muslim culture. Das's was highly tinged by the Vaishnavite thought of Bengal, to which was added the philosophical thought of Bengal, to which was added the philosophical thought of Ramakrishna Paramahansa and has great disciple Swami Vivekanand. Motilal

prided himself on his knowledge of Persian and Urdu literature, and often quoted from it in the course of his utterances. Das was proud of his Bengali and had contributed to its poetic richness by his *Sagar Sangeet* (the Song of the Sea). Both attracted followers—Motilal by his patriarchal appearance and wit and wisdom, and Das by his generosity and infectious enthusiasm. Both had retained their Indianness, and the dissimilarities between them were the result of their respective environments.

But there was one more figure in the political life of Bengal to remind me of UP. He was reserved but not shy. Unlike Jawaharlal, who was interested in the people of India, but not in individual, Subhas gave the impression of being warmly interested in everyone who met him. Jawaharlal was yet to discover India, but Subhas at least knew his Bengal. Although both were men of strong emotion, Subhas always exuded it, but Jawahalal's burst through his shyness only on occasion of gave provocation.

Jawaharlal was an intellectual, which Subhas was not, but the latter had great organizing ability, which the former lacked. The patriotism of both was unbounded and no sacrifice too great for them in the struggle freedom. Jawaharlal, despite his radically different political outlook, fully understood the greatness of the Mahatma and the supreme role that the Mahatma was destined to play in the affairs of the country. He attempted to influence the Mahatma, and many a time successfully, but never thought of challenging his leadership. Subhas, like so many sons of rebellious Bengal, tried to blaze his own trail and, even with failure, immortalized himself in the annals of his motherland. It was my privilege to come in close contact with both of them. The first impression I had of them deepened and never obliterated with the passage of time.

On 17 November the prince of Wales arrived in Bombay and the event added fuel to the already blazing political fire. it is quite believable that the official machinery in the city did its best to organize a fitting reception to the prince by the traditionally loyalist section of the population, mostly drawn from the Anglo-Indian Parsi, and Christian communities. Exploitation of communal differences being the age-old policy of the government, it may also

be surmised that they expected a clash between the receptionists and the boycotts, the latter being Hindus and Muslims. It seems that the organizers of the boycott had not given any thought to this aspect of the situation. If they had done so they would have taken care to keep their people peaceful. As it happened, the boycotts actually took the offensive and the Muslim section among them, which had been infuriated by the arrest of the Ali brothers, indulged in violence against the receptionists. This led to the Parsis, Christians, and Anglo-Indians organizing themselves by way of revenge. The result was a series of extremely serious riots in the city which even the Mahatma could control only by going on a fast. However, in spite of the Bombay incidents, the boycott of the prince was spectacularly successful in the rest of India. Every provincial Congress committee enrolled volunteers in thousands to serve as the vanguard of the demonstrations.

The city of Calcutta under the leadership of C. R. Das. started preparing itself for 25 December, the scheduled date for the prince's arrival. Unlike the Bombay Government, the government of Bengal came out with a notification under the Criminal Law Amendment Act banning the enrollment of volunteers with the result that in Calcutta, even those who had never thought of becoming Congress volunteers, enrolled themselves as such. The arrest of C. R. Das, along with his wife and son and other Congress leaders, set the city politically on fire. I, too, forgetful of the purpose of my presence in Calcutta, was carried off my feet and got myself enlisted as a volunteer. By the time my turn came, not only the jails of Bengal but event he lockups on Calcutta had been filled to overflowing with the arrested volunteers. I, along with a dozen volunteers, was arrested and taken to the Lal Bazar lockup, but released after sunset, as there was no space left to accommodate as for the night. Next morning when I reached the patrika office, I was taken to task by Golop Baby. As Jitendra Baby had also been arrested, he had found great difficulty in bringing put the paper. I promised not to repeat my previous day's adventure and continue to be by his side.

The viceroy, who waste the time in Calcutta for the Charistmas, again tried to drive a wedge between Hindus and Muslims. Through the unsuspecting Madan Mohan Malaviya, he

arranged for a compromise under which, if the boycott of the prince was given up, all the political prisoners, except the Ali brothers and the *fatwa* prisoners would be released. The Mahatma saw through the game and insisted on the release of the Ali brothers. As the object, which he had in mind, had failed to materialize, the viceroy gave up the effort and proceeded to give effect to the policy of repression. But under termed by it the city of Calcutta observed complete hartal on the day of the arrival of the prince. It was for the last time that Calcutta demonstrated that it was the political capital of India. In future, during the entire period of the struggle for freedom, the city of Bombay deprived it of its traditional glory. Mahatma—"A Contact and a Criminal" (1922)

By the time the annual session of the Congress took place in Ahmedabad almost all the front-rank leaders, including Motilal Nehru, Lajpat Rai, and Jawaharlal were in the jails of their respective provinces. As the president-elect, C. R. Das was also in jail, Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi presided, and Das's address, prepared before his arrest, was read out by Sarojini Naidu. The main resolution was moved by Gandhi himself calling upon every person of the age of 18 and over to join the volunteer organization and advising Congress committees to hold committee meeting and public meetings, in defiance of government orders, taking care that the public meetings were held "in enclosed places and by tickets". The resolution also enjoined upon Congressmen to prepare themselves and the country for mass and individual civil disobedience. The mahatma was appointed the sole executive authority of the Congress with power to appoint a successor. It was now evident, both to the people and the government, that the Congress was making itself ready for a final showdown.

After the Ahemdabad session was over, Gandhi started organizing the peasants of Bardoli for a no-tax campaign. In accordance with his practice of giving warning to the opponent, he wrote to viceroy Lord Reading on 1 February 1922, intimating his resolve to start mass civil disobedience in Bardoli. The main part of the concluding paragraph of his letter ran thus:" But before the people of Bardoli actually commence mass civil disobedience, I would respectfully urge you as head of the Government of India,

finally to revise your policy and set free all the Non-cooperating prisoners who are convicted or under trial for non-violent activities in the country, whether they be regarding the redress of he Khilafat or the Punjab wrong or Swaraj or any other purpose, and even through they fall under the repressive sections of the Penal Code or always to the condition of non-violent, I would further urge you to free the Press from all administrative control and to restore all the fines and forfeitures recently imposed."

This letter, which gave seven-days' time to the viceroy for the fulfilment of the demands contained therein, came to be known as Gandhi's ultimatum to the viceroy. As had been expected, the viceroy not only did not respond to Gandhi's demands but also justified the government's policy of repression, alleging that Congressmen were indulging in intimidation and violence. The first week of February 1922, was packed with events. Gandhi was now on the point of starting the no-tax campaign in Bardoli. The government was ready to put down the movement with a stern hand and had posted European police in the Bardoli area. The moderate element in the Congress, led by Madan Mohan Malviya, was engaged in requesting the viceroy to hold a Round Table Conference. In the midst of all this, there came a bolt from the blue which emboldened the government and dashed to the growing Gandhi's first experiment in mass civil disobedience. This was the tragedy of Chouri Choura (district Gorakhpur, UP), where a sub-inspector and 21 constables were first forced by a violent mob provoked by them, to take shelter in the police station and then set on fire, with the result that all the 22 poicemen perished in flamed. Gandhi had somehow managed to put up with the internecine fight in Bombay, but Chouri Choura shocked him to the depth of his being. He not only suspended the Bardoli mass civil disobedience, but also instructed Congressmen all over the country to stop every kind of defiance of government orders and to confine themselves to working the constructive programmes.

Gandhi's sudden decision not only angered the people at large and the rank and file of Congressmen, but also leaders like Lajpat Rai and Motilal Nehru. The latter wrote to Gandhi from his prison". "Why should a town at the foot of the Himalayas be penalised if a

village at Cape Comorin failed to observe non-violence." Despite the nationwide, vocal as well as silent protexts, Gandhi did not budge an inch from his resolve.

On 19 February the Mahatma wrote to Jawaharlal, who was in prison with his father, sympathizing with him for being "terribly cut up" over the suspension of the civil disobedience movement, and said that his "heart goes out to father" and hoped that "the first shock must have been followed by a true understanding of the situation." After detailing the various incidents of violence in various parts of the country, he summed up the situation by assuring Jawaharlal that "if the thing had not been suspended we would have been leading not a non-violent struggle but essentially a violent struggle."

These words were not only his reply to all his critics but also an ultimatum to the people that if they wanted to engage themselves in a violent struggle for the freedom of their motherland, he would not be the person to lead them. While for the Mahatma non-vilnence was a matter of faith, an overwhelming number of Congressmen had accepted it as a matter of policy in the knowledge that a violent struggle by the people had no chance of success against a government armed with the latest weapons of war. it stands to reason, therefore, that the protests by Congressmen against the suspension of the movement were based merely on a misunderstanding of their leader's attitude towards the struggle and were caused by sheer disappointment. It did not take long for the honest protestants to grasp the situation, but there was another variety of protesters who, not unlike the government, had been waiting for the day of Gandhi's unpopularity of pounce upon him. When the All Indian congress Committee met in Delhi 9 February, B. S. Moonje of Nagpur moved a vote of censure against Gandhi. He expressed his dissatisfaction against certain items of the constructive programme and confronted the working committee with the resolution of the Nagpur district Congress committee, permitting reservation in untouchability and Swedish. Gandhi could leave the Congress but could not permit such a reservation. He had fought against the curse of untouchability all his life. On course, Moonje had no support, and opposition to Gandhi proved to be merely a storm in a tea cup.

It was otherwise with the government which was gloating over the temporary unpopulairity of Gandhi. Gandhi himself was not unaware of this. Knowing how the government would react, he wrote in one of his articles in *Young India.* Chouri Choura must stiffen the Government, must still further corrupt the police, and the reprisals that will follow, and Gandhi himself was arrested. Viceroy Lord Reading was extremely satisfied and wrote that Gandhi had "pretty well run himself into the last ditch as a politician." But Gandhi did not remain in the ditch for long. The arrest, the trial, and ultimately the sentence of six years' imprisonment firmly enthroned Gandhi in the heart of every Indian as firmly as before.

The Mahatma was arrested on the night of 10 March and taken to Sabarmati prison. The trail began on 18 March. Pleading guilty, Gandhi concluded:

"I am here, therefore, to invite and submit cheerfully to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is deliberate crime, and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen. The only course open to you, the judge and the assessors, is either to resign your posts and thus dissociate yourselves from evil, if you feel that the law you are called upon to administer is an evil, and that in reality I am innocent, or to inflict on me the severest penalty, if you believe that the system and the law you are assisting to administer are good for the people of this country, and that my activity is, therefore, injurious to the common weal."

While passing sentence the judge observed: "Mr. Gandhi, you have made my task easy in one way by pleading guilty to the charge.

"There are probably few people in India who do not sincerely regret that you should have made it impossible for any government to leave you at liberty. But it is so, I am trying to balance what is due to you against what appears to me to be necessary in the interest of the public, and I propose in passing sentence to follow the precedent of a case in many respects similar to this case that was decided some twelve years ago, I mean the case against Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak under the same section. The sentence that was passed upon him, as it finally stood was a sentence of simple imprisonment for six years. You will not consider it unreasonable, I think, that you should be classed with Mr. Tilak, that is a sentence of two years' simple

imprisonment on each count of the charge, that is six years in all, which I feel it my duty to pass upon you. And I should like to say in doing so that if the course of events in Indian should make it possible for the Government to reduce the period and release you, no one will be better pleased than I."

The Mahatma was pleased to find himself bracketed with the Lokamanya and said to the judge: "Since you have done me the honour of recalling the trial of Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, I just want to say that I consider it to be the proudest privilege and honour to be associated with his name. So far as the sentence itself is concerned, I certainly consider that it is as light as any judge would inflict on me; and so far as the whole proceedings are concerned, I must say that I could not have expected courtesy."

Sarojini Naidu, who was an eye-witness to the trial, has recorded her reactions to the memorable scene: "The most epic event of modem times ended quickly. The pent-up emotion of the people burst in a storm of sorrow as a long, slow procession moved towards him in a mournful pilgrimage of farewell, clinging to the hands that had toiled so incessantly, bowing overt the feet that had journeyed so continuously in the service of his country. In the midst of all this poignant scene of many voiced and myriad-hearted grief he stood, untroubled, in all his transcendent simplicity, the embodied symbol of the Indian nation—its sacrifice and sacrament in one."

R. S. SHUKLA HANDCUFFED (1922)

Soon after the arrest of the Mahatma, I had to leave Calcutta under instructions from Spare. When I reached Raipur, I found that my father had already left the town with the family and had settled down in Kanpur in accordance with his previous decision to pass the rest of his life near the holy Ganga. On further enquiries, I came to learn that my father, on having come to know that I had been arrested in Calcutta, was even more estranged from me. When this was confirmed by Sapre, I came to realize that the purpose in recalling me to Raipur was to remove me from Calcutta. However, within a week. an event occurred in Raipur which changed even Sapre's attitude in this respect.

During my absence from Raipur, this small town had not escaped the political convulsion through which the country had passed. Gandhi's withdrawal of the movement and his subsequent imprisonment had deprived the people of opportunities to fight the bureaucracy, but inwardly they were still full of defiance. They were led by Ravi Shankar Shukla, who, with of defiance. They were led by Ravi Shankar Shukla, who, with his inspiring personality and immense capacity for organization, had filled the people with patriotic fervour and readiness to sacrifice. He had become an eyesore to the officials of Raipur who were in search of some excuse to teach him a lesson. The opportunity came to them when the Second Hindi CP Political Conference was held in Raipur on 25 March 1922.

The conference was held strictly in accordance with the instructions of the All Indian Congress Working Committee, and entry into the pandal was regulated by tickets. Two passes were also issued to the police to attend the conference. But the Raipur bureaucrats were determined to pick up a quarrel. they demanded entry for a third police officer which was politely refused. One of the junior officers, who had been taken into confidence by his superiors, confidentially informed me that the officials had decided to arrest Ravi Shankar Shukla. I reported this to the organizers, with the result that preparations were made to carry on the fight in case of Shukla's arrest. Just as the conference was to begin, Shukla and his lifelong friend Woman Baliram Lakhe stood at the gate hand-in-hand. When the city inspector, accompanied by an extra-assistant commissioner and a dozen constables, arrived at the gate, they were asked to produce their tickets. When the city inspector said that he would enter without a ticket and tried to force his way in, the two leaders made it known that they would resists his unauthorized entry. When he found his way thus barred, he at once ordered Shukla's arrest. The city inspector himself handcuffed him and took him to the kotwali which was not far off. The incident infuriated the people and they *gheraoed* (encircled) the kotwali. The leaders pacified them by persistently requesting them to remain peaceful. This done, the conference was resumed. The organizers prepared a list of those who would offer themselves for arrest in case the police

again repeated its previous performance. I had made up my mind to be the first in the line but was surprised to find Sapre, an intimate friend of Shukla, pushing me behind and stationing himself at the gate. Raghavendra lined up behind him. But the police was now nowhere to be seen. The proceedings of the conference began according to schedule. There was no official interference even the next day and the conference ended peacefully.

It appears that when the news of Shukla's arrest reached Nagpur, the high-up in the provincial government realized that the action of the local police was illegal and instructed them to release him. This happened within 48 hours of his arrest. However, when the provincial legislative council met, even the loyalists, who had entered the council ignoring the Congress ban, strongly condemned the government for its high-handed action.

The Congress workers of Raipur were pleased to have me in their midst, and in view of my father's departure from Raipur, I was also keen on beginning my public life in Chhattisgarh. I could speak the Chhatisgarhi dialect fluently, and this would have enabled me to work in the villages. But again destiny intervened. On coming to know that I had finally left Calcutta, Govind Das wrote to Sapre that he would be highly obliged to him if he could persuade me to settle in Jabalpur. Sapre used all his powers of persuasion with me. He argued that as Jabalpur was the headquarters of the provincial Congress committee, it would offer better opportunities to me for political work. He also proposed that I could taken up the editorship of the monthly magazine *Shri Sharda* which had deteriorated in recent months and make it a first class magazine rivalling the *Saraswati* of Allahabad. This was a tempting offer but what finally weighed with me was the consideration, which he had not urged out of his innate politeness, that having accepted Govind Das's hospitality during my stay in Calcutta, my sense of gratitude demanded that I should not entirely disappoint him. It also occurred to me that he might have formed exaggerated notions about my intellectual attainments and possibly only a brief association might suffice to disillusion him and thus enable me to secure my release.

I reached Jabalpur in the second half of April 922 and was cordially received by Govind Das. How relieved he felt to have me with him may best be described in his own words:

"So far the barge of my life had moved smoothly in the waters of love with which the members of my family, relations and friends had surrounded me. In the meanwhile Gandhiji started the Non-cooperation and I began actively associating with it. This caused some thing like an earthquake in my family, traditionally loyal to the British Government. My family life was completely shattered.... On his return from Calcutta, I prevailed upon Mishraji to reside with me in the Raja Gokul Das Palace. This companionship turned into close friendship. He removed the anxiety of my wife and persuaded my parents to adjust themselves to the changed situation. Thus, the advent of Mishraji in my life proved a boon to me and gave my mind new strength and peace."

Although I did take interest in the public life of Jabalpur, I mainly concentrated on *Shri Sharda*. I sought the cooperation of my friends in Kanpur and Allahabad and all of them, along with their associates, started contributing regularly to the magazine. The high standard of their articles and my own editorials on various topics, along with extracts from contemporary Indian and foreign magazines, enabled it to have a place of its own among Hindi monthlies.

III

VICE CHANCELLOR OF SAUGAR UNIVERSITY

Situated on Bina-Katni railway line, Saugar city is one of the oldest in Madhya Pradesh. It is the Divisional Headquarters, a huge contonment and is surrounded by thick forests and rugged hillocks with greenery visible during the monsoon season. Outside the town, there is a police Trainning College where several cadres of Police personnel receive their training. Inside the town, there is an old lake which looks quite beautiful during the rainy season.

There are a few cinema halls, bazarars where daily necessities are available and a few primary and secondary schools for boys and college. Bidi is the main production as its leaves are available in the forests nearby. The cantonment has the capacity to maintain has the capacity to maintain full division of army, though scattered informations at several kilo metres. There are two centres of the

Mahar Regiment. where initial training is imparted to the recruits brought from various regions of Maharashtra.

The city has road link with Chhatarpur and Khajuraw and onward journey to Jhansi. The district population is backward in many respects compared to Bhopal, Gwalior, Jabalpur and Indore.

The foundation of the Saugar University was a unique phenomenon in the development of education in Madhya Pradesh. With the dawn of independence of Nagpur University was transferred to the Bombay province and thus there was no centre of higher education in this region. Thius young graduated from several colleges were deprived of higher education.

The initaitive for the foundation of the University at Sagar was taken by Dr. Hari Singh Gour, a renowned lawyer, academician, another administrator and philanthropist. A year before the attainment of Swaraj, Dr. Gour requisitioned several military barracks at Makronia, the cantonment area by convicing the vicil and military authories for opening a University. As the story goes, Dr. Gaour himself contributed a subsrtantial amount in building up this university. As. C. P. Berar was a backward region, he made it a point to appoint several teachers from Uttar Pradesh. The arts, science, commerce and law faculties were started in the old military barracks and one could say that life to teachers and students was as simple as in Santiniketan.

Dr. Hari Singh Gour was the founder vice-Chancellor of this university. He had a high academic vision with several academic degrees to his credit. So far so the wished to give this university an academic colour of the Cambridge University of which he himself was a student during his younger days.

Dr. Gour's mind was set at the Patharia Hills, outside the city where he showed much kenness to shift the campus of the university. As a result of his high vision, the campus was marked which would have the Arts Faculty Science Faculty, Library, Hostel for boys and girls, quarters for members of the staff and a small hospital. Renowned profession required by Dr. Gour and soon he made substantial headway. The Departments of Geology, Geography, Pharmacy, Botany, Physics, Chemistary, Commerce,

History, Political Science, Hindi, Sanskrit, Linguistics and others were started which attracted students from all over India.

In mid 1950s Dr. Gour expired and Dr. R. P. Tripathi a well known historian took over as the Vice-Chancellor. Before his death, Dr. Gour dedicated his spacious banglow Gour Bhavan, to the University, as the residence of the Vice-Chancellor. Dr. R. P. Tripathi's tenure was marked with academic progress of the University as some department were revamped and placed on proper setting.

At this point of time, Shri D. P. Mishra took keen interest in the affairs of the Saugar University and when Dr. Trpathi retired D.P. Mishra took over as the Vice-Chancellor of the University. With Ishwar Chandra as the Registrar of the University, Mishra began the construction work of the new campus at Patharia Hills. Several new buildings were constructed including the accommodation for the staff of the University.

Shri Mishra was a scholar and educationist and showed keeness in the development of arts and science departments.

He was responsible for bringing eminent scholars in these faculties. he used to discuss several academic points with senior teachers. In the senate of the university, he asserted on certain points when the thought that they were for the welfare of the students and teachers.

He was a politician and a statesman. He should not happy at Sagar and spend the rest of his life in the academic world. He wished to go back to political activities and therefore he kept in touch with Bhopal, the capital of the province.

At that point of time, Mishra was in touch with several public men having deep linkage with the political activities of the province. What people said at that time was that he had daily correspondence with regional leaders of Madhya Pradesh. The idea was to capture power with the help of prominent leaders of the province.

Dr. K. N. Katju, an old politician and who had held a few positions of eminence in the centre and elsewhere, was the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh in the early years of 1960. He belonged to U.P., although he claimed that his ancestors belonged to C. P.

Berar and he went his early career there. To dislodge him as chief Minister was indeed a difficult task. But for Mishra who had successful political innings in the pre 1947 period, it should not be a difficult problem. So with the help, support and cooperation of eminent leaders with whom he had deep connection, he was successful in dislodging Katjie and was appointed the unopposed Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

As Chief Minister of a fairly ling state in our rule-continent, D. P. Mishra launched several schemes which had deep linkage with the development of several areas. he achieved remarkable success in the field of agriculture, education, health, panchayati raj, roads, law and order.

During the China war he was instrumental in the collection of a huge amount for the National Defence fund. He indeed showed much administrative skill as the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

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Revenue and Settlement

The life of the peasant in India is, as Sir Basil Blackett described the Indian budget, a gamble on rains. Either there are no rains or more rains or untimely rains. And in all these cases the agriculturists stand of suffer. Government have always to be prepared for large scale relief and remission of land revenue to alleviate the distress of the peasant. The Central Provinces and Berar Government have always been prompt in granting such relief.

In the very first year of its office the Ministry was faced with the problem of unprecedented failure of wheat crop all over the province on account of damage by rust. Relief was granted in the shape of remission of land revenue to the tune of half a crore of rupees, and taccavi on liberal scale was given in the next year to the extent of about Rs. 40 lakhs for the purchase of wheat seed.

The question regarding the elimination of the intermediaries between the State and the peasants was also taken up in the first year of the its office by the Ministry. A resolution was passed in the September 1946 session of the Assembly to the effect that intermediaries between the State and the peasants should be eliminated as a reform of the land revenue system of the province, and that Government should take such steps as may be deemed necessary to achieve this object. In pursuance of this resolution, Government appointed a committee consisting of officials and non-officials to examine this question, and its recommendations are under the consideration of Government.

Government granted relief to the kotwars who form the last rung of the ladder in the administrative machinery of the village, by granting them enhanced cash remuneration at a rate almost double that prevailing in 92, to meet the increased cost of living.

Government have also borne the share of extra cash remuneration payable by tenants on this account. The extra expenditure involved to Government is nearly Rs.7 lakhs. The remuneration of the corresponding village officials in Berar was increased from about Rs. 8 per month to double the figure and Government have borne an extra expenditure of nearly 9 lakhs rupees on this account.

A policy of liberal distribution of taccavi, both for the purchase of seed, bullocks, etc., and for the improvement of land was followed. The amount of ordinary taccavi sanctioned during the three years of office was about one and a half crore of rupees.

During the second year of office, a large number of measures was taken to improve the existing land tenure and also to counteract the ruthless exploitation of the privately owned forests which are a national asset. In order to give a fixity of tenure to the lessees of land in Berar where the practice in vogue, a Bill was drafted to give protection to lessees and was circulated for public opinion. In the light of the opinions received, the question is under the further consideration of Government for taking suitable legislative measures to prevent habitual sub-letting of land and also concentration of land in the hands of a few who cannot cultivate it personally.

Another measures of reform was in regard to the raiyats in the raiyatwari villages of the Central Provinces who used to be ejected from their land for non-payment of land revenue and could not avail of taccavi on the security of their land. The Central Provinces l and Revenue Act was suitably amended to remove these disabilities.

The third measure of reform was to facilitate the grant of loans under the Agriculturists Loans Act. These loans did not create a charge on the land of the borrower unless it was specifically hypothecated, with the result that the loans were usually advance on the joint security of a group of borrowers. The Agriculturists Loans Act was amended to create an automatic charge on the land of the borrower without any formal hypothecation so that the loan can now be advanced to individual cultivators, and the joint responsibility of a group of borrowers need not be insisted upon.

It was found that there was ruthless exploitation of malguzari forests, mainly for the lucrative business of charcoal manufacture.

To prevent this vandalism the cutting of trees for manufacture of charcoal without the previous permission of the Deputy Commissioner had been prohibited. Similarly, provision has been made in the rules in the working thereof is reported. The maximum penalty or the breach of private forest rules has also been enhanced from Rs. 200 to Rs. 1,000.

To safeguard the grazing and nistar of the residents in the much exploited zamindari forests of the province, the Central Provinces and Berar Grazing and Nistar Act was enacted. The scheme of the Act provides for adequate fixation of grazing and nistar facilities through the agency of local Nistar Panchayats.

In the third year of its office, the Ministry took measures to improve the lot of aboriginals with regard to their rights in the land and also for liberalising the land tenure in the newly integrated States. So far, the enlarged rights of transfer of land, enjoyed by the tenants in the remaining part of the province, were not conferred on the tenants in the partially excluded areas of the province. This has now been done but power has also been reserved by Government to safeguard aboriginals, by providing that wherever considered necessary of land by an aboriginal to a non-aboriginal shall require the prior approval of the Deputy Commissioner.

I- RELIEF MEASURES

Consequent on the serve damage to juar and cotton crops in the cotton-juar tract of this province especially in the seven districts of Akola, Amraoti, Buldana, Yeotaml, nagpur, Wardha and Nimar due to unseasonal rains and prolonged wet weather in November last, the Provincial Government have initiated the following measures for relieving distress among the agriculturists of the affected areas:-

(i) Government have ordered suspension and remission of land revenue to the following extent:-

	Rs.	a.	p.
suspension..	17,76,258	3	3
Remission..	3,853	8	0

(ii) Government have further decided to grant taccavi liberally and the following amounts have been placed at the disposal amounts have been placed at the disposal of the Deputy Commissioners under the Agriculturists and Land Improvement Loans Acts for distribution to cultivators during the current kharif season:-

	Rs.
Agriculturists' Loans Act	60,59,250
Land Improvement Loans Act.	17,56,000

(iii) In villages in which the land revenue has been suspended, taccavi instalment under the Agriculturists' Loans act and the Land Improvement Loans Act falling due along with the current kharif 1st also been suspended.

(iv) A notification has been issued under section 61 of the Civil Procedure Code, 1908, exempting from liability to attachment or sale in execution of decree so much of certain agricultural produce as is necessary for the purpose of providing until the kharif of 1949-50 for the due cultivation of land for the support of the judgement-debtor and his family and live-stock.

(v) The Provincial Government have enacted two Acts which have been applied to seven affected districts, namely Akola, Amraoti, Buldna, Yeotmol, Nagpur, Wardha and Nimar. Under one of these Acts viz., the Central Provinces and Berar Relief of Agriculturists Debtors (Temporary Measures) Act 1948 XXIV of 1949), which has been brought into force on the 6th May 1949, installments payable either under the Debt Conciliation Act, 1939, falling due between the 1st day of January 1950 shall be suspended and on such suspension the payment of the installment and the remaining installments falling due shall be postponed by one installment period. It has been further provided that all proceedings pending before a revenue officer for

recovery by coercive process of such installments defaulted shall be stayed till 1st January 1950.

Under the other Act viz. the Central Provinces and Berar Temporary Postponement of Execution of Decrees Act 1949 (XXXII of 1949), which has been brought into force in the seven districts on the 13th may 1949 for a period of nine months all proceedings in execution of any decree for money or proceedings for making final any preliminary decree for foreclosure or sale or proceedings in execution of any final decree for sale passed by a civil court against an agriculturist in respect of liabilities incurred before the Act came into force shall be stayed. Thus a sort of moratorium has been declared in the seven affected districts until the next kharif harvest.

Other important legislative measures enacted during the Budget Session of 1949 include the C. P. Land Revenue (Amendment) Act, 1949 (XXIX of 1949). Under these Acts power has been taken to check the growing tendency of the part of villagers in Central Provinces and Berar to encroach upon the village road area continguous to their fields which caused difficulties in carting agricultural produce to the village, by requiring them to demarcate the boundary between their land and the village road adjoining it by boundary marks and to repair and renew such boundary marks from time to time.

With a view to reconsider the existing and future policy regarding taccavi and allied matters Government have appointed in February 1949 a committee be examine the present policy of Government and to make recommendation for overhauling the policy in view of the collapse of the rural credit system as a result of recent Debt Legislation and the mounting demand of all classes of cultivators for taccavi advances to finance their agricultural operations on a large scale.

The assist the Committee in formulating its decisions, Government have decided to undertake a sample enquiry into village economy with special reference to the present day requirements of agricultural financing and the indebtedness of cultivating classes. The Survey is at present being undertaken in about 100 representative villages spread all over the province.

II. ABATEMENTS OF RENTS IN THE PAN BAREJAS

On account of an almost incurable disease in the pan barejas of the three villages in the Mandla district, the barait (growers of betal leaves) found it difficult to pay their rents which were a high as Rs. 40 per acre. The Government ordered the rents of the pan bareja land in these villages to be abated under section 61-A of the Central Provinces Tenancy Act and brought them down to the level of rents of ordinary lands on the basis of their soil classification. As a result of these abatements and consequential reduction in revenue in the three mahals Khairi, Hirdenagar and Bamhni of the Mandla district, the rents of these villages were reduced by Rs. 679-11-1, Rs. 1,675-15-6 and Rs. 115-11-0, respectively, and the land revenue by Rs. 340, Rs. 838 and Rs. 61-4-0, respectively. These reductions were given effect to from the 1st kist of 1946-47 and will remain in force for the term of the current settlement. These reduction have afforded adequate relief to the pan growers.

On the integration of the Central Provinces State with the province, some of the important Acts applicable to the Central Provinces have been extended to the integrated States. In order to improve the lot of the cultivating classes and liberalize the right of raiyats and tenants in the Central Provinces States, the Central Province State Land Tenure Order, 1949, was promulgated with effect from the "Remembrance Day" (26th January 1949). The main features of this Order are that raiyats and tenants get heritable and transferable rights in their land, that they are entitled to make improvements and enjoy the usufruct of the trees in their land, that every kind of begar is abolished and the interests of aboriginals are safeguarded by prohibiting transfer of land by an aboriginal to non-aboriginal without the prior approval of the Deputy Commissioner.

III. REVISION OF LAND REVENUE

"Our little systems have their day; they have their day and cease to be." The malguzari system should have ceased to be by now. Times have vastly changed since the days of the historical accident that gave rise to it. Churchill regards this as one of new India's major problems. It will be recalled he asked Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru while he was in London for the Dominion Premiers' conference what he

proposed to do about it and volunteered the information that he himself had wanted to do something. That, however, he could not do. Congress is committed to the policy of abolition of the malguzari and zamindari system. This province is ready to push ahead with the necessary legislation. However, in obedience to the directive from the Central Government the whole scheme is being re-examined before finalising it. Pending the abolition of malguzari, Government have realised the need to make the zamindars bear grater burdens and have rightly increased the dues realisable from them.

Revision of land revenue (takoil) of the estates: The land revenue (takoli) payable by estates was enhanced on graded scale in 1939 under the Revision of the Land Revenue of Estates Act, I of 1939, but to avoid sharp enhancements, it could not be enhanced to the limit of its full *kamil jama* in all the estates and the assessment on some of the estates remained much below their *kamil jama.* The Central Provinces Revision of Land Revenue Estates Act, 1948, was passed and the increased land reveneu (takoli) of estates (zamindaris) is now 50 to 60 per cent of the malguzari assets. The increase has contributed a sum of nearly Rs. 4 lakhs to the public exchequer.

Revision of the land revenue of the mahals: The malguzari system is a historical accident and the fraction of village assets left to the malguzar as compensation for the trouble and expenses of village management has been determined from time-to-time by empirical considerations in the initial stages and in the later stages with a decided bias in favour of the land-lord-the stock-holder in the country and ally of Government—and not by and reasoned or well thought out theory of taxation. The Settlement Act of 1929 stereotyped this tendency and gave it statutory sanction. The system resulted in retardation in the growth of reveneu and tended to shift the burden of settlement on the tenantry. The evil has been aggravated by the artificial limitations imposed on the calculation of assets an the freedom left to the malguzar to capitalize land values. The illogical nature of the arrangement is illustrated by the fact that he landlord is permitted to retain not only a moiety of the tenants' rents, but also of the rental value, calculated on the same principles, of his own homefarm, and of the miscellaneous income of the

village collected by him, usually without any great trouble. The Central Provinces Revision of Land Revenue of Mahals Act, 1947 has therefore been passed to enable Government to take a larger share of revenue at 75 per cent of the malguzari assets without enhancing tenancy rents and without taking up regular settlements. The work in connection with the calculation of revised land revenue has been carried out and this has added a sum of nearly Rs. 51 lakhs to the land reveneu demand of the province.

Revocation of Land Revenue Exemptions: Except grants for specific purposes, the exemptions were mostly in consideration of loyalty and help rendered to the late rulers by the *muafi* holders in the past. The continuance of these exemptions appeared necessary no longer, and the Central Provinces and Berar Revocation of Land Revenue Exemptions Act, 1948 has been passed which authorizes the Government to recover land revenue of the villages and plots hitherto exempted from its payment. The gain to the Provincial revenue by these resumptions is estimated to be over Rs. 10,00,000. The work regarding the calculation of the new demand is in progress. The amount of Rs. 3,79,000 could be easily added to the kistabandi.

Revision of land reveneu due to diversion of agricultural land to non-agricultural: A lot of agricultural land round about Jubbulpore was found newly diverted to non-agricultural purposes. For revising assessment of these lands and also of similar lands in and around other growing towns of Katni and Itarsi, a special staff was appointed. A simplified system dispensing with traversing and detailed survey was introduced which resulted in the increase of land revenue of these three towns by Rs. 7,490-13-0, Rs. 8,237-1-0 and Rs. 6,147-3-0, respectively. Similar operation without appointing any special Chhindwara districts where the increase in the land revenue on this account is estimated to be Rs. 7,850 and Rs. 1,028, respectively. Similar work is in progress in all other districts. Powers of assessment have been delegated to Deputy Commissioners by amending the Central Provinces Land Revenue Act, 1917.

Resettlement of non-agricultural lands which already settled before, and assessment of lands which were lying fallow at the time of the last settlement: The Provincial Government have decided to

undertake in the suburban group of the Nagpur district, the revision of assessment on non-agricultural lands which were assessed as such at the last settlement and also the assessment of lands which were lying fallow at the time of the last settlement but which have since been brought under cultivation. Assessment would have been unduly costly and langthy. This has been avoided by amending section 106 of the Central Provinces Land Revenue Act which has now empowered Deputy Commissioners to take up this work on the expiry of the period of settlement without following the elaborate procedure of regulate settlements. The work regarding revision of non-agricultural rents in Nagpur suburban group is already in progress. That of newly cultivated agricultural land is being started in Nimar district.

Chakbandi operation: The Provincial Government have attached great importance to the problem of cosolidation of holding so that despite the difficulty of finding requisite staff in these days of high pressure, the Provincial Government have been continuing this beneficent work in different parts of the province with an annual loss of Rs. 15,910 on an average for the last three years.

The chakbandi operation which were discontinued from 1st October 1945 were restarted in the Raipur district from 1st September 1946. During this period consolidation of holding was carried out successfully in 48 villages covering an occupied area of 36,646 to 23, 582, the percentage of reduction being 71 per cent. The average area of a khasra number has been increased from 0.83 acres to about 4.19 acres. The average area of a khasra number in these consolidated villages is now 11 times what it was in pre-chakbandi days. Intervening bunds are being gradually demolished and compact holding have now come into being.

In April 1948 the possibility of consolidation of holdings in the villages brought under the scheme of tractor ploughing for the eradication kans in the Khurai tahsil of the Saugor district was examined, and Government decided to start consolidation operation in such areas immediately. As the application of the provisions of the Central Provinces Consolidation of Holding Act, 1928. to areas other than Chhattisgarh required legislation. and as the Assembly was not in session it was decided to delete the proviso to sub-section

(3) of section 1 of the Act by promulgation of an Ordinance by His Excellency the Governor, Central Province and Berar [vide Central Provinces Consolidation of Holding (Amendment) Ordinance, 1948 (X of 1948)]. The provisions of the Act were thereafter extended to Saugor and Hoshangabad districts.

To begin with, the operations Saugor district were started under a party consisting of one Consolidation Officer, eight Chakbandi Inspector and eight Chakbandi Madadgars from the 17th July 1948. Later on, in December 1948, six Revenue Inspectors of Suagor district were also deputed on chakbandi work there are six Chakbandi Inspectors and three Madadgars of Raipur district with a view to complete the scheme for the 52 villages where the tractor ploughing scheme for eradication of kand in Khurai tahsil was to start in 1949 season.

The programme of tractor ploughing scheme for the year 1949 in the 52 villages covers a total occupied area of 37, 682 acre. Out of these 52 villages 32 grow both kharif and rabi crops which would be ploughed in two installments. Kharif area to be ploughed during the period from 1st January to 31st March 1949, and rabi from 1st April to 15th June 1949. The remaining 20 villages where rabi area predominated will be ploughed during the period from 1st April to 15th June 1949. So far chakbandi schemes of 13 villages have been completed and those of 10 villages are under preparation. As the movement of consolidation of holding is new to Saugor district, it will take time to create interest in the minds of the cultivators. It is, however, expected that chakbandi schemes of all the villages will be completed by April 1949, i.e., before the date fixed for tractor ploughing.

With a view to popularize chakbandi in Saugor and Hoshangabad districts, Government have remitted the chakbandi fee which is at present levied at annas 6 per acre of occupied area in the old Chhattisgarh division since October 1942. The question of taking up consolidation operations in some villages of Nandgaon tahsil is under examination.

Crop cutting experimental surveys by ransom sampling method in the Central Province and Berar.: The old official method of estimating the out-turn of crops on the basis of crop cutting

experiments conducted by revenue officers for administrative purpose as well as for determining the standard out-turn per acre was found to be defective as it gave highly biased results. The experiments were never proportionately distributed over the entire tract of cultivation and the entire period of harvesting. A vast majority of the experiments was made in easily accessible road-side fields usually in the middle of the harvesting season.

A beginning in the alternative method of random sampling was made in this province by Shri C. D. Deshmukh in the year 1928-29 on the paddy crop in the Raipur district in close collaboration with Sir John Hubback who had previously tried this method on paddy in Bihar and Orissa. But owing to Government's unwillingness to incur permanently any additional expenditure involved in augmenting the existing staff for conducting these experiments, Shri C. D. Deshmukh's effort were wound up in 1939.

Attempts to demonstrate the practicability of adopting random sampling as a normal method for estimation and forecasting of crop were revived when the Indian Central Cotton Committee initiated at its entire cost the crop estimating survey on cottton by this scientific method in the Akola district in 1942. In view of the encouraging results obtained the survey was in the next season extended to one more district of Berar (Buldana), district average yields of kapas was tested against by the actual total production of the two districts (Akola and Buldana). by the statistics of ginned cotton and figures of exports, imports of unsigned cotton and extra-factory consumption. In order to determine accurately the amount of exports from and imports into these two districts. an extensive patrol on the entire border of the two districts was instituted. The findings convinced the administrators of the unquestionable adopting the random sampling method in place of the existing official method of estimating the yield per acre which was subjective incharacter. and hence unsatisfactory. The survey was; therefore. extended to the entire cotton tract of the province in the year 944-45 and since then it is being carried out annually on a province-wide scale.

The importance of random sampling for crop cutting experiments as the only means to arrive at the most objective and accurate estimate of average and total out-turn of a crop was

emphasized by the Honourable Minister for Food in 1946. Our province being a surplus province, the need for procuring foodgrains and exporting them to deficit areas naturally confronted the Government. In order that the procurement of grains from cultivator may be just and effective, and objective reliable estimate of the tortal out-turn of a tract, or for the matter of that, of a holding, was considered indispensable. Therefore at the initiative of the Honourable Minister for Food, the crop cutting experiments by random sampling method were extended to one more principal crop, juar, in the kharif of 1946.

The crop cutting experiments by random sampling method are thus conducted at present on five principal crops, viz., paddy, cotton, kharif juar, rabi juar and wheat on a province-wide scale. Since 1947-48, a pilot survey on tour also have been launched in two districts, nagpur and Yeotmal, with a view to explore, without additional expenditure, the possibility of incorporating the scheme for estimation of tur crop in the cotton and juar schemes. Along with the extension of the survey to more crops and to greater areas, efforts have been constantly made to evolve a statistical plan and organizational pattern, fitting with the administrative set-up of the Land Records Department. The object is to entrust the conduct of the experiments entirely to the existing Land Records staff as its normal duty. With this end in view, the Land Record officials have been trained more thoroughly during the recent years and the expenditure on employment of additional field staff is being gradually curtailed.

As a result of vigorous action initiated by Government, extensive developments have taken place in the direction of improved accuracy and greater comprehensiveness of yield statistics during the past three or four years. Much ground yet remains to be covered, however, before agricultural statistics in this province can be placed permanently on sound footing. The next step should be definitely to set up and adequate and efficient statistical organisation dealing with the agricultural statistics and to replace permanently and completely the old method by the new method of random sampling for crop cutting experiments.

IV. PROHIBITION

To the policy of weaning people from "the cup that cheers and also inebriates," the Indian National Congress is committed. Congress under the influence of Gandhiji is pledged to prevent people from drinking and getting drunk. It is not the fad or the fancy of a "crank" or the idiosyncracy of an individual. it is a well-thought-out policy borne out of a deep conviction that drunkenness is a moral,social, and economic evil that must be destroyed rot and branch. Gandhiji taught us the tale of woe that drunkenness brings in its train. He also gave us the moral force to fight the Demon of Drink.

Prohibition did not come as a complete surprise. For on thing, it was an integral part of the constructive programme ever since Gandhi began to influence Congress. For another, even the British Government in Indian which used the "tainted money" from excise revenues to finance what little education there was, was an advocate of temperance. The imperialist shop had enough window-dressing with, among other things, propaganda in favour of temperance. And prohibition is just temperance in a hurry!

Will prohibition succeed? One may as well ask, will truth prevail? It has not fully prevailed after these centuries. The courts, police and jails are all a concession to human weakness. On that score none would advocate untruth. Will India succeed where America failed? There is no reason why she should not. There is every reason why she should.

Prohibition to succeed, however, must be total prohibition. And so this province, in pursuance of Congress policy, decided on total prohibition within four years. In compliance with the directive from the Central Government, further extension of prohibition this year was postponed. And as soon as the anti-inflation fight, for which the suspension was suggested, is brought to an end this province will go ahead with the implementation of the policy of total prohibition. Today, a third of the province, that is over 39,645 square miles, is under prohibition. The capital of the province, Nagpur, is dry.

Many steps were taken by Government from time-to-time for the successful enforcement of prohibition of liquor and to reduce consumption of liquor and drugs in the area which have not yet been

brought under prohibition. Police department has been entrusted with the detection of prohibition cases. Experience proved that regular police, being preoccupied with other work, could not pay proper attention to the detection of the crime. Special Prohibition Police force was, therefore, created for this purpose. Recently, zealous Congress workers, both men and women, have been drafted in this force as Constables and Head Constables. This scheme is proving quite a success.

Mahua is the chief base employed for the manufacture of liquor in the "dry" areas. Rules restricting the possession and sale of mahua were brought into force in the districts of Wardha and Akola from the 15th August 194, with fair results. These rules have been further extended to a substantial portion of the Nagpur district and their application to the other "dry" areas is under consideration. Many persons used o get drinks at the Railway refreshment rooms by pretending to be passengers. This temptation was removed by closing down all the Railway refreshment was removed by closing down all the Railway refreshment room commencesin the "dry" areas. Some shops retained in the ten miles shop zones by the previous administration have been closed. In addition to this, possession of country spirit has been totally prohibited in the shopless zone. This step has been taken to reduce temptation in the way addicts who cannot now get country spirit within ten miles of the "dry" areas. The Province Government have ordered that sale of those tinctures should not be permitted except as a constituent in the mixtures prescribed by doctors. When it was noticed that foreign liquor filtered through the non-Asiatics to the public at large, the Provincial Government cancelled the exemption in their favour. As the quantity of liquor that can be possessed under the permits is restricted the desired object was achieved by withdrawing the exemption.

Prohibition Committees have been formed in the districts for the purpose of doing propaganda in the cause of prohibition. Provincial Government raised the fees for F. L. XII and F. L. XII- A permits for consumption of foreign liquor in the "dry" areas from Rs. 10 and Rs. 15 to Rs. 100 and Rs. 150 respectively. This step was taken to reduce the number of applicants for permits. A provision

existed for granting temporary permits to travellers for consumption of foreign liquor. This was deleted.

Certain Ayurvedic suras were being used as beverages in the "dry" areas. The manufacture and sale of the Suras have been banned. Government have, however, appointed a Committee of experts to advise the Prohibition Commissioner, to see that manufacture and sale of Ayurvedic preparations which are very useful as medicines are not prohibited.

Many persons who consumed liquor in the "dry" area on detection could successfully plead that they has consumed liquor in the neighbouring "wet" area. It was also found that addicts visited the neighbouring "wet" areas and returned home drunk. To stop this, state of intoxication in a "dry" area, irrespective the area where liquor might have been consumed, was made an offence.

The duty on potable foreign liquor was substantially raised from Rs. 30 to Rs. 56-4-0 per proof gallon to reduce consumption of foreign liquor to the minimum. Similarly issue price rates of country spirit, drugs and tree tax on toddy were considerably raised to reduce consumption of country spirit, drugs and toddy in the "wet" areas.

Fourteen Chhattisgarh States and the Makrai States were integrated from the 1st January 1948. There was excessive drinking in the these states. To reduce the excessive consumption a number of liquor shops have been closed down in the States. All shops in the Makrai State have been closed down, and the State is now practically "dry". Provincial Excise and Opium Acts, etc., have been extended to these States to quicken the process of bringing the working in the States on the lines of the Province.

Prohibition in Central Provinces and Berar, has on the whole been a success. The social and economic benefits of this gigantic experiment in human reclamation, he who runs can read. Experience tells that crime qualis before prohibition. Happines of homes is far less distributed in the dry areas now than before. The number of prohibition cases that are adequately published is evidence of the vigilance of the preventive staff and not proof of failure of prohibition.

More attention towards consolidating the benefits of prohibition is indicated. Efforts must be made to canalise their

savings and also to provide people with cheap and harmless amusements, all of which must form part of a regeneration programme.

Prohibition like everything else depends for its success on enthusiastic co-operation from the public. More especially Congressmen and Congress organizations owe it to themselves to extend the fullest co-operation to make prohibition a success. Those that picketed liquor shops in sun and rain cannot afford to be cold or indifferent now when we are implementing prohibition policy. There is need for shoulders to the wheel. In the measure they answer the need, in that measure they would have contributed to the outstanding success that prohibition promises to be.

V.- SALES TAX

You cannot tax and the popular, observed Edmund Bruce long age, any more than you can love and be reasonable. Popular Governments at the Centre and in the provinces have been piling taxes upon taxes. It is only they that have the capacity and the confidence to court the unpopularity of additional taxation. This capacity and confidence arise out of people's conviction that the taxes that fall from the skies return to the oceans. More and yet more is expected of popular administrations in the direction of promotion of public weal. And all undertakings, and the *Arthasastra* sharply reminds administrators, depend upon finance.

Democracy, all over the world is the costliest form of Government. Our democracy in India is committed to gignatic experiments in human reclamation like prohibition, besides being pledged to root out poverty and to wipe every drop of tear from every eye. But it is only money that can make the mare go. The provinces are in the unenviable position of having limited resources against rapidly expanding expenditure. No wonder the Finance Ministers are looking out for possible sources of revenue.

Under the circumstances, a sales tax is easily the best measure available for obtaining additional revenue with comparatively little expenditure. And so this province, like others, went in for a sales tax that came into force on June 1, 1947. It was extended to the integrated sates on February 1, 949. In 1948-49, it is expected to

yield a revenue of a crore and a half with expenditure for collection round about one per cent.

Under the Sales Tax Act, a tax has been levied at the Rate of half anna per rupee on goods in general, except those which have been specially exempted (Schedule II appended to the Act), and at one anna per rupee on certain goods classed as luxury goods (Schedule I). The one-anna rate has been designed to tax at a higher rate the higher income groups and exemptions are granted on all articles which may be regarded as necessaries of the life of the poor man. The Sales Tax is thus a very fair tax and satisfies amply one of the accepted canons of taxation, viz., that there should be equality of sacrifice.

The main principle which has guided Government in deciding what goods should be exempted and what need not, is this: that all those articles should be exempted which enter largely into the cost of living of the poor; and that, in particular, foodstuffs should not be made any costlier than they are at present. Accordingly, all cereals and pulses, flour and bread, gur, sugar and molasses, salt, tamarind, chillies and turmeric, milk and vegetable oils are exempted under the Act. The next group of exemptions granted in pursuance of the same principle consists of clothing. Cotton cloth woven from handspun yarn and so certified by the All-Indian Spinners Association, coarse cloth, i.e., cloth the price of which does not exceed two annas per yard, and hand-made kambals locally produced in the provine, yarn of counts of 25 and below, have all been exempted. Further, in order that cottage industries may be encouraged, products of cottage and home industiies have been excluded from this taxation when the sale is by persons dealing exclusively in such products. Thus, cottage workers, e.g., weavers, carpenters, brass and coppersmiths, who sell their own products or sell them through agents, like Co-operative societies, who deal exclusively in such products are not to pay any tax. This should prove an incentive to small producers and manufacturers to shake off the middle-man who at present takes away the cream of their profits.

Articles like kerosene and firewood which are articles of daily need for the poor, have also been exempted. Exemptions provided in

the interests of the cultivators are: fertilisers including oil-cakes, when sold for manurial purposes, cattle-feeds and agricultural implements operated exclusively by human or animal agency, when sold for bona fide agricultural purposes.

A veriety of school requirements has also been exempted. These include text-books prescribed by the Universities of the Province or the High School Education Board or the Education Department for use in colleges or schools in the proivince, writing slates, slate-pencils, chalk-sticks, crayons and foot-rules.

The Provincial Government have powers to exempt by notification any article or any dealer or class of dealers from the operation of the Act and this power will be used in cases where Government find that the tax has caused a hardship or that any industry is shown to have suffered from a handicap on account of the levy of the tax.

The main feature of the Central Provinces and Berar Sales Tax, is the operation of the tax at only one stage of the severle sale transactions between producer (manufacturer) or importer wholesaler, retailer and buyer. That stage is the final one when the goods pass from the registered dealer to an unregistered dealers, who virtually represents the consumer. Intermediate registered dealers, through whom the goods may pass before reaching the virtual consumer are allowed to deduct from their gross turnover amount representing the value of the goods they have sold to other registered dealers, for resale. This ensues that there is no double taxation. Similarly, manufacturers will not be liable to pay the tax on purchase of raw material for the purpose of manufacture—rebate at half the rate will be allowed.

Representatives of several Chambers of Commerce and trade interests were consulted and their view given consideration before the rules were finally adopted and published in August 1947.

In order to help the mercantile community and the general public, a pamphlet in English in non-technical language giving broadly an idea of the sales tax. how the Act would be administered was printed in the third week of April 1947 (i.e., sufficiently in advance before the Act came into force) and copies were widely distributed all over the province. The pamphlet was published in the

different newspapers also. Hindi and Marathi translations of the pamplets were got ready towards the end of May 1947, and similarly distributed throughout the province. Subsequently the two schedules to the Act were printed in Hindi and Marathi with suitable notes for the guidance of the consumers and dealers, and copies thereof were circulated in the districts. Posters containing the two schedules and notes were printed and exhibited at conspicuous places in markets as well as important residential areas for the information of the mercantile community and the general public. A memorandum for the guidance of each dealer was also printed and circulated. Periodical press notes were issued explaining the important decisions taken in connection with the administration of the Act and elucidating the provisions of the Act and the two schedules.

Recently the Act was amended to provide for voluntary registration. This provision enables new dealers (e.g. refugees) to get registered and derive the advantages of registration.

The administration of the Act has been entrusted to the Excise Department. The Excise Commissioner has been notified as the Sales Tax Commissione, the District Excise Officers as Sales Tax Officers, Assistant Sales Tax Officers and Excise Sub-Inspectors as Sales Tax Inspectors. Additional staff has been sanctioned, wherever necessary. The Excise Commissioner visited Bengal before the Act was passed into law, and in September 947, the Honourable Minister for Excise and the Assistant Commissioner of Sales Tax went to Bombay to study the working of the Bombay Act. Recently also the Excise Commissioner took advantage of a visit to Bombay to discuss sales tax problems with the officers in Bombay.

The excise officers who are now administering the Sales Tax Act have undergone a course of training in sales tax work. A series of lectures was delivered explaining the Act, the Rules and the Schedules. They were also given lectures and practical lessons in accounts and their audit by an experienced officer of the Income Tax Department. They were made conversant with book-keeping and other allied matters before assessment work started.

In administering the Act, care has been taken to ensure that the mercantile community are not put to any hardship. The Act. being a new one. considerable latitude is being shown in enforcing its

provisions. Care has also been taken in delegating important powers like inspection of places of business accounts, granting refunds, etc. under the Sales Tax Act only to superior officer of the department. The power to sanction prosecution is exerciseable by a still higher authority, viz., the Commissioner of Sales Tax. Sales Tax Inspectors can only exercise the powers of inspection, search, seizure, etc., with the written permission of the Sales Tax Officer and these powers are to be used sparingly. The officers have also been instructed that all reasonable opportunities should be given to the dealers to comply with the law, and drastic steps should be taken only when absolutely necessary and as a last resort.

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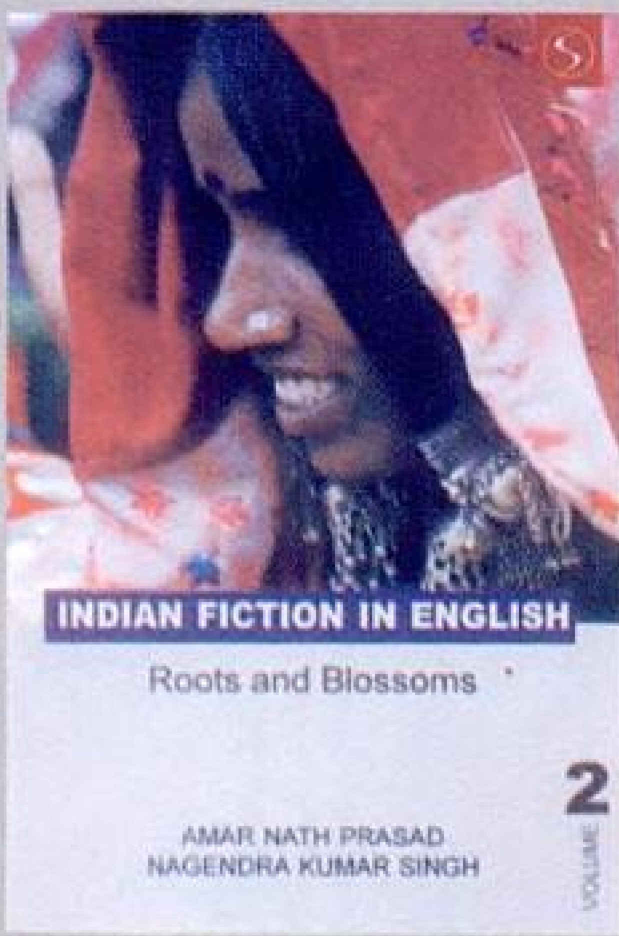
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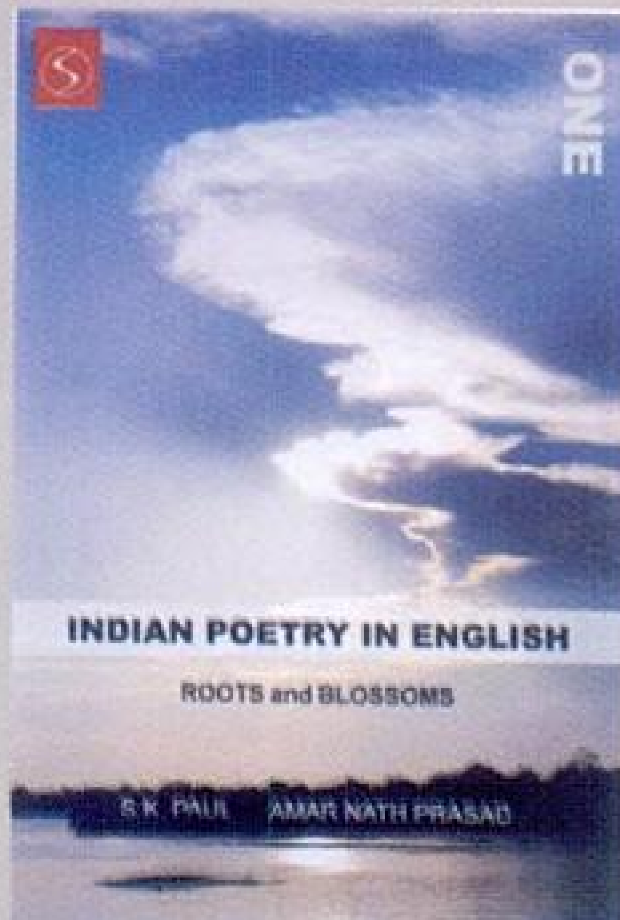
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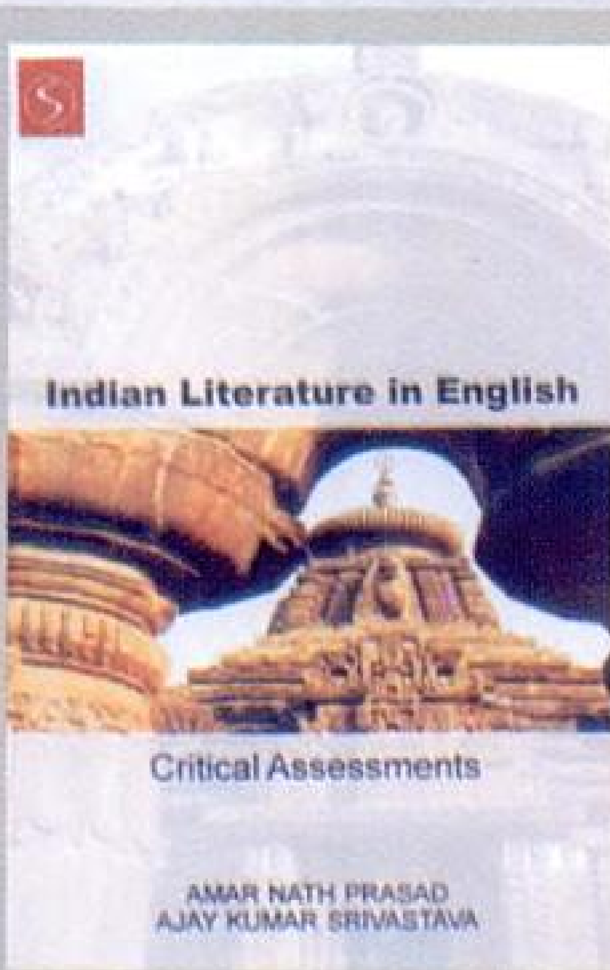
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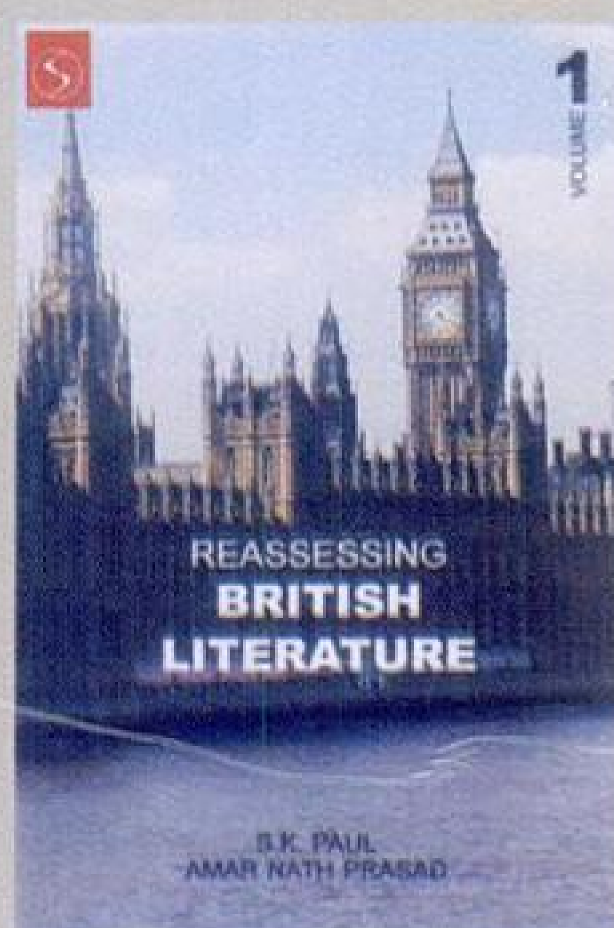
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